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Service-learning as "Citizenship" Education:

The Promise and the Puzzles

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Corporation for National Service

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABSTRACT

Service-learning as "Citizenship" Education: The Promise and the Puzzles

The Study

Since developing "citizenship" is a prevalent goal for many service-learning programs and policies, Bernadette Chi's National Service Fellowship research proposed to examine what and how students learn "citizenship" through service-learning. She explored students' attitudes about service, their understanding of citizenship, and the relationship between the concepts as a way to consider how service-learning contributed to students' conceptions of citizenship. To suggest how and why students' attitudes differed, this report also briefly describes the significant role of teachers in shaping service-learning experiences, and the variety of service-learning practices that contribute to a diversity of outcomes. In coordination with a state-funded study performed by the Service-Learning Research and Development Center at the University of California, Berkeley, student and teacher interview data was collected from 107 students (from grades three to twelve) and 31 teachers in ten school districts throughout California. Comparison students and teachers who were not involved with service-learning were also interviewed. Additional information was collected through teacher portfolios that documented details about the service-learning projects in which students were engaged.

Findings and Results

1) If citizenship development is an explicit goal of service-learning, then policy makers, teachers, and service-learning advocates must recognize that different conceptions of citizenship exist in both theory and practice.

If "citizenship" is a desired outcome of service-learning experiences, there are multiple conceptions of citizenship in theory and practice that should be acknowledged, clarified, and debated among students and teachers. This is important because students and teachers come into service-learning experiences with a diversity of experiences and opinions about citizenship that should be negotiated, affirmed, and/or challenged.

2) Students offered many reasons to serve, indicating that they bring attitudes and take lessons from service-learning experiences that may vary widely.

Students described very different attitudes and opinions about service, which reflected personal interests, sense of personal efficacy, concern for efficacy of the project, and/or analysis of community needs. However, participation in service-learning appeared to shape students' attitudes about service, as comparison students were more likely to select projects based on personal interests or sense of efficacy, while service-learning students were more likely to be community-oriented and concerned about meeting the greatest needs in the community. Ultimately, this diversity of attitudes suggests the importance of offering opportunities to discuss why service is necessary so that students recognize their own beliefs and have the opportunity to challenge or affirm them as they learn about other meanings of service.

3) Learning about citizenship is a very complex process that requires opportunities to engage in dialogue about the many dimensions of citizenship.

• **Many teachers miss (or exclude) the opportunity to discuss "citizenship" as part of service-learning.** Despite the rhetoric that promotes service-learning as teaching about citizenship, most of the teachers involved in service-learning did not use the language of "citizenship". Since teachers did not explicitly connect the students' service experiences to the concept of citizenship, students were left to create those connections (or have outside interviewers make them), if at all.

• **Service-learning promotes active citizenship.** The promise of service-learning is that even in the absence of "citizenship" language, when asked to make a choice, many (though not all) students involved in service-learning chose a civic republican conception of citizenship where "a good citizen is anyone (even a young person) who tries to make the school or neighborhood better" because of an interest in helping others and in including anyone who wanted to help (regardless of political status). While half of the comparison students also selected this option, the other half defined "good citizenship" as following rules and laws (citizenship as rule-abiding), suggesting that service-learning experiences promoted a pro-social, active conception of citizenship.

• **Service-learning does not automatically foster interest in voting.** While service-learning experiences promote the importance of helping others, they do not automatically foster the desire to participate in systems of democratic self-governance, such as voting or participating in politics. For the most part, even students who were heavily involved in service-learning did not connect voting to their conceptions of "good citizenship". This propensity to volunteer but not vote as acts of citizenship should be further examined in light of assumptions that youth involvement with service-learning will inevitably lead to greater voting rates as adults.

4) When implemented consistently and intensively, classroom practices can significantly support student learning through service that relates to their understanding of citizenship.

Based on a review of student interviews in a few sample classrooms, service-learning appeared to shape students' attitudes about service and citizenship, not through lecture or indoctrination, but through reasoning and analysis through dialogue, even when citizenship was not explicitly stated as an outcome of service-learning. Conditions that supported clear relationships between service and citizenship included clear rationales for why the service was important to do, consistent opportunities for reflection that allowed students to negotiate the attitudes that they bring into the classrooms, and regular opportunities for teachers and students to engage in dialogue.

5) The greatest contribution of service-learning in fostering citizenship development may be the opportunity or "space" to discuss issues and topics that students and teachers consider as important or contested, such as service and citizenship.

To help explain the diversity of attitudes that students' have about service and citizenship, several dimensions of the learning environment were examined, including student background demographics and teacher goals that may lead to a diversity of service-learning practices. For example, the motivations and goals held by teachers varied, significantly shaping the learning experiences and outcomes for students. As a result of the influential roles that students and teachers have in creating service-learning experiences, rather than thinking of service-learning as a list of certain elements or components to be implemented, it appeared that service-learning created "space" in classrooms that allowed

teachers and students to address personal and community issues that concerned them, and that were not typically taught in school.

Through student and teacher interviews, it became clear that the promise of service-learning was significant, fostering the attitudes of individuals to help others and their communities. The puzzles of service-learning as citizenship education, however, also deserve more attention and discussion. The relationship between service and citizenship is fraught with assumptions that deserve illumination and that unfolds in rich and complex ways.

What it Means to You

Chi intended to shed light on assumptions that exist in rhetoric and in practice about service-learning as a strategy for "citizenship" education, including the meaning of "good citizenship", the connection between service and voting, and the relationship between service and citizenship. To explore these assumptions and address how service-learning contributes to students' understanding of citizenship, this report contains information about conceptions of citizenship, the diversity of students' attitudes about service, the variety of students' attitudes about citizenship, and the contribution of service-learning to students' understanding of citizenship. Essentially, the connection between service and citizenship is very complex, and fraught with assumptions that must be examined and clarified through dialogue between students and teachers. Implications and recommendations for policymakers, practitioners and researchers or evaluators are also addressed.

For More Information

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Service-learning as "Citizenship" Education: The Promise and the Puzzles

Research Questions

One of the primary purposes for establishing a public educational system was "to give all children an education adequate to take advantage of their political status as citizens" (Gutmann, 1987, 288). As one way to help students learn about citizenship and civic responsibility, increasing numbers of schools and districts in California and across the country are including service-learning as part of their curriculum, promoting the application of learning through service to the community (California Department of Education, 2000; Skinner and Chapman, 1999). The **promise** of service-learning as citizenship education assumes the positive benefits of service for students, namely that students involved in service-learning experiences will become "critically thoughtful, engaged, active, lifelong citizens" (Shumer 2000, 36).

Despite the rhetoric of "education for citizenship", however, there is a dearth of theoretically-based studies that examine precisely what concepts of citizenship are taught in schools (Kahne et al., 1998; Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1977). In addition, there is limited empirical research on how students are taught about citizenship, even through the social studies as the discipline primarily responsible for citizenship education (Cuban, 1991; Kahne et al., 1998). A recent study confirms that, in general, students' understanding of citizenship is rather "shallow" (Conover and Searing, 2000). For example, this study found that students' identities as citizens "are experienced as free-floating abstractions in that they are not tied to the students' understanding of what it means to be a citizen or to their behaviors. Similarly, most students have thin understandings of what it means to be a citizen, understandings dominated by a focus on rights and deficient in a sense of obligation" (Conover and Searing, 2000).

This study set out to address these gaps in the literature and to inform the practice of service-learning by examining the following research questions:

- What and how do students learn about citizenship through service-learning?

- Asked another way, in what ways do service-learning experiences contribute to students' understanding of citizenship?

Several other questions flowed from the initial inquiries and collected data that questioned assumptions in the service-learning literature and thus were the **puzzles** of service-learning as citizenship education. For example:

- What does it mean to be a "good citizen"?

- What is the relationship between service and voting (as one of the most cited duties of citizenship)?

- What is the relationship between service and citizenship?

In sum, while attention has been paid to the enormous complexity of service-learning, more attention should focus on the complex concept of "citizenship" that is contested in both theory and practice if citizenship is to be an intentional outcome of

service-learning. Despite recent publications that make explicit connections between service-learning and citizenship (Eyler and Giles, 1999; Morton, 1995; Westheimer and Kahne, 2000), it is clear that not many people agree on what a "good citizen" is or does.

Methodology

To address the proposed research questions that focused on how service-learning as a particular instructional strategy influenced student development, a quasi-experimental research design offered the greatest opportunity to examine comparisons between students who are involved in service-learning and those who are not. This way, students' responses from service-learning classrooms could be compared to student responses from non-service-learning classrooms to see if there were differences between the two sets of responses that may be attributed to the service-learning experiences.

As a subset of a larger study by the Service-Learning Research and Development Center (SLRDC) at the University of California, Berkeley, seven K-12 school-community service-learning partnerships volunteered to participate in this study. They represented the range of diverse communities in California, including northern, central, and southern regions that included rural, suburban, and urban areas. Such diversity among communities is desirable to capture the range of experiences and conceptions of citizenship that are influenced by community history and context (Conover and Searing, 2000). At least three service-learning teachers and at least one matched comparison classroom participated from each partnership. Information packets were mailed to coordinators, teachers, and evaluators during the summer to prepare for the study during the, 1999-2000 school year. The teachers and evaluators attended a training in August, 1999 to discuss the various instruments involved in data collection.

The students and teachers involved in this study were engaged in a diversity of service-learning projects. For example, high school students examined the role of violence in their own lives and developed presentations and projects to help other students express themselves in non-violent ways. Students of all ages tutored their younger peers in "book buddy" reading programs. Schools and communities became the recipients of student-organized gardens that were used as "interpretative labs" to help teach science as well as to produce vegetables, herbs, and flowers that were given to various groups in the community. Students interviewed elders in their communities to provide companionship as well as to gather information for a community oral history.

From September, 1999 until June 2000, data was collected from a sample of students who were individually interviewed (n=107), and from a sample of service-learning teachers (n=31) who participated in individual interviews and completed teacher "portfolios" to describe their service-learning projects. The students represented a range of grades 3-12, and a range of cultural and ethnic backgrounds. The students participated in service-learning projects in various classes including Social Studies, Language Arts, Foreign Language, and Math. Subjects under 18 years of age were given a parental consent form for their parents to sign.

Discussion of Key Findings

1) If citizenship development is an explicit goal of service-learning, then policy makers, teachers, and service-learning advocates must recognize that different conceptions of citizenship exist in both theory and practice.

If "citizenship" is a desired outcome of service-learning experiences, there are multiple conceptions of citizenship in theory and practice that should be acknowledged, clarified, and debated among students and teachers. This is important because students and teachers come into service-learning experiences with a diversity of experiences and opinions about citizenship that should be negotiated, affirmed, and/or challenged.

2) Students offered many reasons to serve, indicating that they bring attitudes and take lessons from service-learning experiences that may vary widely.

Students described very different attitudes and opinions about service, which reflected personal interests, sense of personal efficacy, concern for efficacy of the project, and/or analysis of community needs. However, participation in service-learning appeared to shape students' attitudes about service, as comparison students were more likely to select projects based on personal interests or sense of efficacy, while service-learning students were more likely to be community-oriented and concerned about meeting the greatest needs in the community. Ultimately, this diversity of attitudes suggests the importance of offering opportunities to discuss why service is necessary so that students recognize their own beliefs and have the opportunity to challenge or affirm them as they learn about other meanings of service.

3) Learning about citizenship is a very complex process that requires attention to many dimensions of citizenship.

- **Many teachers miss (or exclude) the opportunity to discuss "citizenship" as part of service-learning.** Despite the rhetoric that promotes service-learning as teaching about citizenship, most of the teachers involved in service-learning did not use the language of "citizenship". Since teachers did not explicitly connect the students' service experiences to the concept of citizenship, students were left to create those connections (or have outside interviewers make them), if at all.

- **Service-learning promotes active citizenship.** The promise of service-learning is that even in the absence of "citizenship" language, when asked to make a choice, many (though not all) students involved in service-learning chose a civic republican conception of citizenship where "a good citizen is anyone (even a young person) who tries to make the school or neighborhood better" because of an interest in helping others and in including anyone who wanted to help (regardless of political status). While half of the comparison students also selected this option, the other half defined "good citizenship" as following rules and laws (citizenship as rule-abiding), suggesting that service-learning experiences promoted a pro-social, active conception of citizenship.

- **Service-learning does not automatically foster interest in voting.** While service-learning experiences promote the importance of helping others, they do not automatically foster the desire to participate in systems of democratic self-governance, such as voting or participating in politics. For the most part, even students who were heavily involved in service-learning did not connect voting to their conceptions of "good citizenship". This propensity to volunteer but not vote as acts of citizenship should be further examined in light of assumptions that youth involvement with service-learning will inevitably lead to greater voting rates as adults.

4) When implemented consistently and intensively, classroom practices can significantly support student learning through service that relates to their understanding of citizenship.

Based on a review of student interviews in a few sample classrooms, service-learning appeared to shape students' attitudes about service and citizenship, not through lecture or indoctrination, but through reasoning and analysis through dialogue, even when citizenship was not explicitly stated as an outcome of service-learning. Conditions that supported clear relationships between service and citizenship included clear rationales for why the service was important to do, consistent opportunities for reflection that allowed students to negotiate the attitudes that they bring into the classrooms, and regular opportunities for teachers and students to engage in dialogue.

5) The greatest contribution of service-learning in fostering citizenship development may be the opportunity or "space" to discuss issues and topics that students and teachers consider as important or contested, such as service and citizenship.

To help explain the diversity of attitudes that students' have about service and citizenship, several dimensions of the learning environment were examined, including student background demographics and teacher goals that may lead to a diversity of service-learning practices. For example, the motivations and goals held by teachers varied, significantly shaping the learning experiences and outcomes for students. As a result of the influential roles that students and teachers have in creating service-learning experiences, rather than thinking of service-learning as a list of certain elements or components to be implemented, it appeared that service-learning created "space" in classrooms that allowed teachers and students to address personal and community issues that concerned them, and that were not typically taught in school.

Through student and teacher interviews, it became clear that the promise of service-learning was significant, fostering the attitudes of individuals to help others and their communities. The puzzles of service-learning as citizenship education, however, also deserve more attention and discussion. The relationship between service and citizenship is fraught with assumptions that deserve illumination and that unfolds in rich and complex ways.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are offered to raise the awareness of policymakers, teachers, students and service-learning advocates to view service-learning as a means of teaching "citizenship" in public schools. The recommendations are divided into two groups: the first for program coordinators and policymakers because the issues are similar, and the second for researchers and evaluators who are interested in assessing service-learning and citizenship.

Implications for Policy and Programs

• **Use the language of "citizenship".**

If service-learning is meant through careful consideration to be a strategy for citizenship education, then students and teachers need to engage the concept and term directly. Avoiding the term, "citizen", because of its connotations will not necessarily lead

teachers and students to reconsider, challenge, or embrace alternative conceptions of citizenship. It also allows the term to languish in ambiguity. Instead, teachers and students should recognize that citizenship carries different meanings and connotations for different people. As a result, teachers should acknowledge the various connotations of the term and discuss it with students to understand their conceptions that they bring into the classroom. They can then be clear in the language of what it means to be a "good citizen" in that particular project or classroom.

• **Redefine "Student Voice".**

The inclusion of "student voice" has typically focused on including students' interests in the selection, development, and implementation of service projects (which may not be reasonable given the age of students or the timeline in which the service projects take place). Based on the student interview data, it may be more helpful to redefine "student voice" as directly including students' past experiences and prior attitudes about service and citizenship in their current service-learning projects. This is not to be done at the beginning of the project, or briefly in passing. The voices of students should be consistently engaged in dialogue and discussion, to reason with them, not simply tell them, how and why service to the community is important as community members and as "citizens". Essentially, service-learning projects should include regular opportunities for students to dialogue and to challenge their previous notions, and to reflect on how their current involvement in service-learning affects those ideas. Only then will "meaningful learning", or learning that has meaning, take place and be carried beyond the walls of the classroom into adulthood.

This notion of "student voice" as bringing past experiences and attitudes to bear on current service-learning opportunities raises issues for policies that mandate "service-learning" experiences for students. Stand-alone requirements that are not connected to classwork or regular opportunities to reflect may have unexpected and potentially negative impacts on students that should be carefully examined. It is important to note that while students in classroom and curriculum-based projects were also technically "required" to do service as part of their class, the context of the classwork and regular class discussions appeared to defuse potential student resentment of service-learning as a "requirement".

• **Connect service experiences with larger systems of change, including voting.**

Given students' inability or lack of awareness to connect their service experiences with concerns about voting, service-learning advocates should encourage teachers to connect their service projects to larger systems of change, including voting in elections. As illustrated by teachers in this study, an emphasis on reasoning and analysis of "why" certain inequities exist and attention paid to institutions and systems appeared to foster students' ability to analyze and to connect their service work to larger systems of policy. If the connection between service and voting is desired, this will push service-learning to go beyond service for charity to help individuals, to service for change to help the larger community and society.

• **Focus on analysis, not "advocacy", to engage students.**

Laws that restrict "advocacy" in public schools exist for good reason: to prevent simple "indoctrination" of students. However, these laws also appear to have a chilling effect on discussions of changing policies through avenues such as voting or organizing. Teachers may feel discouraged to connect service projects with larger concerns about governmental responses to needs (to be prodded by voting). In effect, teachers appear to be "de-politicizing" the service projects in order to fit the norms at school to avoid conflict and to comply with laws that restrict "advocacy".

As illustrated by one of the service-learning projects in this study, however, one service-learning teacher was able to convey the importance of social change, not by simple lectures to her students, but by emphasizing analysis of community needs (e.g. violence). Together, students and teacher explored the many ways, individually and collectively, that exist to address the problem of violence (including individual decisions about personal behaviors to mobilization of larger groups to promote changes in institutions and societal attitudes).

• **Help teachers make project goals clear, and structure activities accordingly.**

Continued professional development and coaching for teachers to plan and implement service-learning should be provided to improve the quality of the experience for students and teachers. The process of clarifying goals and structuring appropriate connections to the curriculum through reflection activities and assessment is needed because as discussed in this report, there are different types of civic responsibility and citizenship (focus on individual, focus on collective, focus on charity, focus on social change, and the many hybrids among them). It is important for teachers to identify their goals, and then structure experiences to reflect those goals: For example, teachers should be encouraged to carefully thinking about the type of reflection questions that are asked of students. Ask questions consistently that address the learning goals, the subject matter, the emotional responses of the students, and evaluation to improve the experiences. Regular opportunities for reflection with a mixture of questions also offer opportunities for consistent messages or expectations.

• **Consider service-learning not as a set of practices, but as "space" that is uniquely created in every classroom.**

Rather than focusing on a list of components to be implemented, view service-learning projects as creating "space" in classrooms and schools for students and teachers to bring in issues and topics not normally taught through the traditional academic curriculum. Often, these are issues that teachers felt were important to be addressed when considering the needs of their students and the state of their local communities.

• **Acknowledge the critical role of teachers in implementing meaningful service-learning experiences for students.**

Policymakers who view service-learning as an exciting means to foster certain student outcomes (such as citizenship) need to be aware of the important role that teachers play in shaping the classroom practices, service experiences, and thus outcomes for students. Service-learning is not like other instructional strategies because of its complexity in goals and implementation, and because of the commitment needed by teachers to implement it well. As a result, time and energy must be spent to ensure that teachers own the process and tapping their motivations for doing service-learning appears to be important to the success of the experiences for students and teachers. First, ask for volunteers among teachers in schools who may be interested in implementing service-learning in their classes. Ask a department or grade level team to take on the requirement and plan how it would take place. Encourage as much ownership as possible by teachers by asking them to identify aspects of service-learning that connect with their teaching responsibilities (whether it is academic, civic, social, technical, or personal).

<u>Implications for Evaluation and Research</u>

• More research about the practice of service-learning is needed because local context drives local practice.

If service-learning is more accurately described as "space" that is constructed and influenced by students, teachers, and communities, then there is tremendous complexity in evaluating and researching service-learning. Research is encouraged to focus evaluation on the different types of goals that policymakers hope for, and to examine the conditions that teachers structure in their classrooms. Given the diversity of service-learning goals, it would be important for programs to be evaluated for what they are attempting to do. Accept this diversity of goals, and the fact that while teachers may attempt to reach all of these outcomes, they are probably emphasizing one dimension (such as academic, social, personal, civic, or vocational) more than others. As a result, evaluations should help programs to clarify their goals, and develop appropriate measures (both qualitative and quantitative) to assess those goals because this study has shown that a single measure may not be most appropriate means of capturing outcomes.

• Recent efforts to build theories should continue and be expanded.

Research on the conditions and practices of service-learning would especially be helpful in developing theories about how and why service-learning "works". At this point, much of the research has focused on certain variables (e.g. duration, intensity, reflection opportunities, etc.) without clear theories for moral, social, civic, or academic development. This atheoretical basis for many service-learning studies limits our understanding of what works and why, and should be addressed with greater focus on theory-building. Recent efforts to build theories (e.g. Learning in Deed, 2000) should incorporate a more complex view of what students and teachers bring to the service-learning experiences. They are neither "blank slates" nor "technicians" merely implementing a static set of service-learning practices.

In addition, theories should incorporate a developmental approach to study the effects of these programs over time and over a range of student ages and levels of development. It may be that some practices and programs are more effective for students at certain developmental levels than others.

• Acknowledge the methodological challenges and limits for research in service-learning.

Methodological challenges for research on experiential educational strategies such as service-learning continue for many reasons (Giles, Porter Honnet and Migliore, 1991; Gray, 1996). For example, as demonstrated by the following review of the literature, there are multiple and conflicting goals of such programs that may lead to changes that may occur for some students, but not for others. Transformative changes may not be best captured by quantitative instruments. Variables are difficult to identify and define, comparison groups are not easily available, random assignment is usually difficult therefore determining causality is tricky, and there are few standardized instruments that measure the desired effects.

Both qualitative and quantitative measures offer advantages and disadvantages that should be considered, but a cautionary note must be expressed about the incessant desire to quantify outcomes. Even with more sophisticated statistical tools such as Hierarchical Linear Modeling, a standardized instrument is only as helpful as how valid and reliable it is in measuring a particular dimension. As observed in this study, teachers have many

dimensions of student development that they hope to accomplish through service-learning. So one option is to study groups of programs and teachers who have similar goals to explore potential outcomes, rather than casting the net broadly to include all service-learning activities.

- **Explore the impact of mandates on teachers and on student outcomes.**

As increasing numbers of schools and districts implement community service and service-learning experiences for students, evaluation and research should pay particular attention to the distinction between voluntary and required service on intended student outcomes. For example, student motivation and level of engagement may be different, teacher motivation and commitment to quality may be different, and the effects of these differences may affect student outcomes.

INTRODUCTION

The Ambiguous Relationship between Service and Citizenship

One of the primary purposes for establishing a public educational system was "to give all children an education adequate to take advantage of their political status as citizens" (Gutmann, 1987, 288). As one way to help students learn about citizenship and civic responsibility, increasing numbers of schools and districts in California and across the country are including service-learning as part of their curriculum, promoting the application of learning through service to the community (California Department of Education, 2000; Skinner and Chapman, 1999).

Coined as a concept and term in the 1970's, service-learning is an instructional strategy whereby students perform needed service in the community, and their experiences are integrated with content, knowledge, and/or skill goals in the curriculum. Although the roots of service and experiential learning go back to the early 1900's (Hepburn, 1997), service-learning as an active instructional and education reform strategy has enjoyed a resurgence of interest and federal funding since 1990, generating programs and partnerships in almost every state in the country (Conrad and Hedin, 1991; Scheckley and Keeton, 1997).

As defined by federal legislation, service-learning:

- is a method whereby students learn and develop through active participation in thoughtfully organized service that is conducted in and meets the needs of a community;
- is coordinated with an elementary school, secondary school, institutions of higher education, or community service programs, and with the community;
- helps foster civic responsibility;
- is integrated into and enhances the academic curriculum of the students;
- and provides structured time for the students to reflect on the service.
  (National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993)

Proponents of service-learning have articulated significant connections between service-learning and citizenship development. For example, the *Wingspread Principles of Good Practice* declared that "We are a nation founded upon active citizenship and participation in community life. We have always believed that individuals can and should serve" (Porter-Honnet and Poulsen, 1989). Several literature reviews and past studies of service-learning have also included "civic" or "political" outcomes of service-learning for K-12 students (Alt and Medrich, 1994; Billig, 2000; Conrad and Hedin, 1991; Furco, 1994, 1997; Kraft and Krug, 1994; Luce, 1998; Root, 1998).

Herein lie the promise and the puzzles of service-learning as citizenship education. The promise is articulated by service-learning literature that assumes the positive benefits of service for students' citizenship development, namely that students involved in service-learning experiences will become "critically thoughtful, engaged, active, lifelong citizens" (Shumer 2000, 36).

There are several puzzles, however, when considering just how service-learning serves as a means for citizenship education:

Puzzle #1: What does it mean to be a "good citizen"?

While attention has been paid to the enormous complexity of service-learning, more attention needs to be paid to the complicated concept of "citizenship" that is contested in both theory and practice. Despite recent writings that make explicit connections between service-learning and citizenship (Battistoni, 1985; Eyler and Giles, 1999; Morton, 1995; Westheimer and Kahne, 2000), to paraphrase Westheimer and Kahne(2000), it is clear that not many people agree on what a "good citizen" is or does. The service-learning literature, however, is not alone in this lack of attention to the complexity of citizenship.

Although schools serve as the primary institution to develop our democracy's citizenry, there is a dearth of theoretically-based studies that examine precisely what concepts of citizenship are taught in schools (Kahne et al., 1998; Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1977). In addition, there is limited empirical research on how students are taught about citizenship, even through the social studies which is the discipline primarily responsible for citizenship education (Cuban, 1991; Kahne et al., 1998). A recent study confirms that, in general, students' understanding of citizenship is rather shallow (Conover and Searing, 2000), further encouraging those concerned about citizenship education to view service-learning as an opportunity to teach about "citizenship". For example, the study found that students' identities as citizens "are experienced as free-floating abstractions in that they are not tied to the students' understanding of what it means to be a citizen or to their behaviors. Similarly, most students have thin understandings of what it means to be a citizen, understandings dominated by a focus on rights and deficient in a sense of obligation" (Conover and Searing, 2000).

Puzzle #2: What is the relationship between service and voting?

Given the approaching Presidential elections, articles and debates expressed concern about the low youth voting rates. While this study did not explicitly focus on this question, insights emerged from the data. For example, the students in the study clearly emphasized citizenship as "helping" behaviors, but just as clearly did not recognize the role of voting or formal political participation as significant to making their "school or neighborhood better". This puzzle is further explored in this report.

Puzzle #3: What is the relationship between service and citizenship?

This study sought to contribute to a larger dialogue by examining what students thought about service, what it means to be a "good citizen", and the contribution that service-learning experiences offered in promoting citizenship development in youth. This was especially important because previous research had indicated that students' grasp of citizenship was weak, even in service programs that purported to promote citizenship development (Davidson, 1995; Smith, 1993).

As a way to address these puzzles, this study set out to examine the following research questions:

• What and how do students learn about citizenship through service-learning?

• Asked another way, in what ways do service-learning experiences contribute to students' understanding of citizenship?

This study explored students' attitudes about service, their understanding of citizenship, and the relationship between the concepts as a way to consider how service-

learning contributed to students' conceptions of citizenship. To suggest how and why students' attitudes differed, this report also briefly describes the significant role of teachers in shaping service-learning experiences, and the variety of service-learning practices that contribute to a diversity of outcomes.

<u>Summary of Findings</u>

1) If citizenship development is an explicit goal of service-learning, then policy makers, teachers, and service-learning advocates must recognize that different conceptions of citizenship exist in both theory and practice.

If "citizenship" is a desired outcome of service-learning experiences, there are multiple conceptions of citizenship in theory and practice that should be acknowledged, clarified, and debated among students and teachers. This is important because students and teachers come into service-learning experiences with a diversity of experiences and opinions about citizenship that should be negotiated, affirmed, and/or challenged.

2) Students offered many reasons to serve, indicating that they bring attitudes and take lessons from service-learning experiences that may vary widely.

Students described very different attitudes and opinions about service, which reflected personal interests, sense of personal efficacy, concern for efficacy of the project, and/or analysis of community needs. However, participation in service-learning appeared to shape students' attitudes about service, as comparison students were more likely to select projects based on personal interests or sense of efficacy, while service-learning students were more likely to be community-oriented and concerned about meeting the greatest needs in the community. Ultimately, this diversity of attitudes suggests the importance of offering opportunities to discuss why service is necessary so that students recognize their own beliefs and have the opportunity to challenge or affirm them as they learn about other meanings of service.

3) Learning about citizenship is a very complex process that requires attention to many dimensions of citizenship.

- **Many teachers miss (or exclude) the opportunity to discuss "citizenship" as part of service-learning.** Despite the rhetoric that promotes service-learning as teaching about citizenship, most of the teachers involved in service-learning did not use the language of "citizenship". Since teachers did not explicitly connect the students' service experiences to the concept of citizenship, students were left to create those connections (or have outside interviewers make them), if at all.

- **Service-learning promotes active citizenship.** The promise of service-learning is that even in the absence of "citizenship" language, when asked to make a choice, many (though not all) students involved in service-learning chose a civic republican conception of citizenship where "a good citizen is anyone (even a young person) who tries to make the school or neighborhood better" because of an interest in helping others and in including anyone who wanted to help (regardless of political status). While half of the comparison students also selected this option, the other half defined "good citizenship" as following rules and laws (citizenship as rule-abiding), suggesting that service-learning experiences promoted a pro-social, active conception of citizenship.

- **Service-learning does not automatically foster interest in voting.** While service-learning experiences promote the importance of helping others, they do not automatically foster the desire to participate in systems of democratic self-governance,

such as voting or participating in politics. For the most part, even students who were heavily involved in service-learning did not connect voting to their conceptions of "good citizenship". This propensity to volunteer but not vote as acts of citizenship should be further examined in light of assumptions that youth involvement with service-learning will inevitably lead to greater voting rates as adults.

4) When implemented consistently and intensively, classroom practices can significantly support student learning through service that relates to their understanding of citizenship.

Based on a review of student interviews in a few sample classrooms, service-learning appeared to shape students' attitudes about service and citizenship, not through lecture or indoctrination, but through reasoning and analysis through dialogue, even when citizenship was not explicitly stated as an outcome of service-learning. Conditions that supported clear relationships between service and citizenship included clear rationales for why the service was important to do, consistent opportunities for reflection that allowed students to negotiate the attitudes that they bring into the classrooms, and regular opportunities for teachers and students to engage in dialogue.

5) The greatest contribution of service-learning in fostering citizenship development may be the opportunity or "space" to discuss issues and topics that students and teachers consider as important or contested, such as service and citizenship.

To help explain the diversity of attitudes that students' have about service and citizenship, several dimensions of the learning environment were examined, including student background demographics and teacher goals that may lead to a diversity of service-learning practices. For example, the motivations and goals held by teachers varied, significantly shaping the learning experiences and outcomes for students. As a result of the influential roles that students and teachers have in creating service-learning experiences, rather than thinking of service-learning as a list of certain elements or components to be implemented, it appeared that service-learning created "space" in classrooms that allowed teachers and students to address personal and community issues that concerned them, and that were not typically taught in school.

Through student and teacher interviews, it became clear that the promise of service-learning was significant, fostering the attitudes of individuals to help others and their communities. The puzzles of service-learning as citizenship education, however, also deserve more attention and discussion. The relationship between service and citizenship is fraught with assumptions that deserve illumination and that unfolds in rich and complex ways.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The review of literature on a topic such as citizenship education is rather broad, and can include many fields (including political education, social education, moral education, civic education, etc.). To limit the scope of this review, I focus on service-learning as one strategy used to teach about citizenship. As summarized in other literature reviews, however, service-learning purports to develop a wide range of outcomes in students, including civic, personal, social, moral, academic and vocational[1]. As one way to bring coherence to an otherwise disjointed body of literature, I suggest that each of the categories of service-learning outcomes have implications for citizenship, drawing on the argument that service-learning has "long roots" in civic education (Hepburn, 1997).

This review is not meant to be exhaustive, but suggestive of how an overall framework could be useful for considering the broad range of service-learning outcomes. I focus on studies that collected empirical data, and I use Eyler and Giles' (1999) Five Elements of Citizenship to loosely organize discussion of how six categories of service-learning outcomes may be relevant to "citizenship":

Values	"I ought to do."
Knowledge	"I know what I ought to do and why."
Skills	"I know how to do."
Efficacy	"I can do, and it makes a difference."
Commitment	"I must and will do."

It is important to note that while these studies are widely cited in literature reviews and often described as positive evidence for the value of service-learning, the "research" mostly contains program evaluations that vary widely in program goals, structures, methodologies, and measurements (Billig, 2000). As a result, the findings of one study should not be considered generalizable for all service-learning experiences. So while the "evidence builds" for K-12 school-based service-learning, much more theory-building and research is needed to better understand the conditions under which many of these findings occur.

Civic Development

While seemingly the most appropriate set of outcomes to expect from service-learning programs, civic outcomes of K-12 service-learning programs have been mixed. The various civic outcomes usually included in this category reflect the values, knowledge, skills, efficacy and commitment demonstrated by individuals who actively participate in their communities.

Regarding values of citizenship, while some programs showed gains in students' personal and social responsibility (Weiler et.al., 1998), other studies showed no difference between service-learning and comparison students (Melchior et. al., 1997; Ridgell, 1995). Such responsibility would be important to foster as motivation for citizens to act in the interest of self and others, especially in matters concerning the "common good". Students involved in service-learning also appear to show larger increases in their international

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[1] The following references offer more detailed explanations of the studies in the service-learning and community service literature, although they mostly focus on positive findings, and do not provide extensive discussion on non-findings or negative findings: Alt and Medrich, 1994; Billig, 2000; Conrad and Hedin, 1991; Kraft and Krug, 1994; Luce, 1988; Root, 1998.

understanding as well as larger decreases in racial prejudice (Melchior et. al., 1997; Myers-Lipton, 1994; Youniss and Yates, 1997), indicating greater tolerance which is important in an increasingly global society, and in democratic societies where contestation and disagreement is deemed appropriate, even desirable. Developing tolerance for different viewpoints, political or cultural or otherwise, would be very important to foster in citizens.

Students' knowledge about local government improved after high school students performed as interns with local government officials (Hamilton and Zeldin, 1987), indicating that intensive, structured service-learning experiences would be effective ways to increase the information known by citizens, although organizing such intensive experiences for every student would be very challenging for schools and communities.

Citizens' commitment to take action appears to be fostered through service-learning programs, by strengthening an ethic of service (Davidson, 1995); fostering the desire to help people in need (Markus, Howard, and King, 1993) or to make a contribution to the community (Melchior et. al., 1997). While all of these attitudes are important for the direct action of citizens, it is not clear from the research that service-learning experiences motivate youth to participate in the self-governing role of citizens, including voting or other means of participating in formal political processes.

Personal Development

This category includes competencies that encompass personal efficacy, self-worth, self-concept, and self-esteem. Such competencies are required of individuals who feel they have the confidence and power to act and contribute, thus making these outcomes relevant for citizenship education.

As important attitudes for individuals to become engaged in their communities, students seem to be more willing to explore new roles identities and new interests; to take risks; and to accept responsibility and consequences of one's actions as a result of service-learning (Conrad and Hedin, 1989). Students also appear to learn leadership qualities and organizational skills (Furco, 1994; Eyler and Giles, 1999) which are important to foster in every individual so that they are able to take action and to mobilize others.

While service-learning appears to foster the self-esteem of participating students (Krug, 1991) and a sense of agency (Yates and Youniss, 1997), other aspects related to students' sense of identity (Mauricio, 1997); self concept (Ostheim, 1995); and locus of control (Ridgell, 1995) were not clearly developed. Given that civic participation requires individuals to have a voice and be willing to express their views in spite of challenges from opposing viewpoints, these areas of development that service-learning may foster deserve more attention.

Social Development

Good citizenship could be defined as social competence since socially competent children set goals for themselves, feel efficacy in social interaction and ultimately "fulfill society's expectations for responsible social behavior" (Rose-Krasnor, 1997, 122). Ultimately, increasing the effectiveness in interactions will help all individuals to live and work together peacefully as citizens.

Published research shows that students involved in service-learning showed evidence of increased empathy toward others (Giles and Eyler in Alt and Medrich, 1994);

reduced level of alienation (Yates and Youniss, 1996); a greater tendency to approach others and lower anxiety in social situations (Williams, 1991 in Furco, 1994); and improved youth-adult relationships (Calabrese and Shumer, 1986). Experience in community service had positive, though, limited effects on adolescent pro-social attitudes (Hamilton and Fenzel, 1988). Regarding their relationships with others, students learn how to interact with peers and work as a team; show greater awareness of importance of working together; and demonstrate greater understanding of people from diverse backgrounds (Conrad and Hedin, 1989).

As it relates to the commitment of individuals to act as "citizens", it appears that youth involved in service-learning exhibit fewer behavioral problems (Switzer, 1995), although there were no significant differences between service-learning students and comparison students in risk behaviors such as use of alcohol, illegal drugs, or weapons (Melchior et. al., 1997).

Moral Development

Although moral development is a particular dimension of personal development, it retains its own category to honor the importance of values and virtues in citizenship. "Certainly citizens need a very great array of knowledge and skills for life in a democracy but they also need to be disposed to use their knowledge and skills democratically. They need democratic dispositions" (White, 1996, 1).

Studies of service-learning that reflect the moral development of youth have appeared to focus on fostering particular attitudes that are relevant for civic involvement such as giving, compassion, and justice (Youniss and Yates, 1997) as well as an ethic of "caring" (Kuest, 1997). Such attitudes and dispositions are critical to foster in democratic citizens as a source of motivation to act. It is important, however, to better understand how service-learning may foster the capacity and skills for moral reasoning, as it may not be sufficient for citizens to simply care for others. Democratic participation also requires a strong orientation toward justice, and the balance of self-interest and concerns for the common good.

Intellectual and Academic Development

Since "level of education attained" is often used as a variable to explain differences in voting rates and other forms of civic participation, it is relevant that recent studies of "high-quality service-learning" programs showed positive outcomes for service-learning in school engagement, school grades, core grade point average and educational aspirations (Melchior et al., 1997; Weiler et.al., 1998). Engagement in school appears to increase, as students are more likely to come to class on time and to complete more classroom tasks (Loesch-Griffin, Petrides, and Pratt, 1995).

Regarding academic skills, service-learning programs appear to foster modest increases in reading and math achievement for tutors and tutees (Hedin, 1987 cited in Conrad and Hedin, 1989), which is important considering the fact that basic literacy for citizenship was the primary basis for establishing universal public education. Higher order thinking skills, however, show mixed findings (Schollenberger, 1985). This area of cognitive development may be one of the most understudied areas of academic and intellectual development that is relevant to service-learning and to citizenship, given our information-rich society in which the veracity of sources and volume of data must be monitored and analyzed.

Career and Vocational Development

The relationship between citizenship and vocational development can be understood on at least two levels. First, on a practical level, it should be clearly stated that vocational development that leads to gainful employment prepares individuals to have productive lives as citizens. Second, on a more theoretical level, "to be a recognized and active citizen at all he must be an equal member of the polity, a voter, but he must also be independent, which has all along meant that he must be an 'earner,' a free remunerated worker, one who is rewarded for the actual work he has done" (Sklar, 1991, 64).

Service-learning seems to provide opportunities for students to explore career options and develop career awareness (Furco, 1997, 127), and to foster positive work attitudes and skills (Weiler et.al., 1998). In addition, service-learning experiences encourage students to find careers to help others (Markus, Howard, and King, 1993).

Summary

Given the lack of consistent data to support service-learning, it is noteworthy to observe that practitioners who have implemented and observed service-learning almost universally support student involvement in service-learning. This gap between research and practice may be a function of: 1) a flaw or inadequacy in the methods employed to measure outcomes; 2) the inherent difficulty of determining causal relationships in education research; 3) some students change tremendously in response to service while others do not, thus changes in the group appear small, and 4) various program components (such as intensity and length of time commitment to service, interest or skill of program leaders, etc.) result in different outcomes (Alt and Medrich, 1994).

When implemented well, service-learning experiences appear to foster a tremendous range of outcomes that relate to positive and holistic youth development. However, as will be elaborated later in this study, because the goals and outcomes of service-learning vary so broadly, the service-learning field cannot expect every experience to foster every outcome described in this literature review for every student. Program goals, teacher goals, project structures and practices matter. Thus, if service-learning is meant to be for citizenship education, what it means to be a "good citizen" must be clarified, which is the focus of the next section.

CONCEPTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP (Puzzle #1)

The terms, "citizen" and "citizenship", are widely used in political and programmatic rhetoric in the service-learning field. However, it is important to understand that there are many meanings and conceptions of citizenship, in both theory and practice. These conceptions may even be in conflict at times. It would seem that since any and all of these conceptions may be relevant, it is safe to say that there is no one definition of citizenship to which all would agree. As a result, the language and intentions for what is expected of students, teachers, and programs should be negotiated, discussed, and be made clear since individuals will be coming to the service-learning with different connotations.

Theoretical Conceptions of Citizenship

The contestation and general lack of consensus of what citizenship means is illustrated by multiple theoretical conceptions. For service-learning, citizenship has its roots in theories of democracy (drawn from Held, 1996) that are described below, and the roles and responsibilities for citizens vary for each form of democracy (van Gunsteren, 1994).

• **Classical or Direct Democracy:** In a direct democracy, citizens participated in the dialogue within large forums that created law within their city-state of Athens, Greece, considered the birthplace of democracy. The focus of citizenship was making decisions through debate and argument in the Assembly (to give a sense of the scope of these discussions, 6000 individuals represented a quorum!). Concepts of the public and private were intertwined, and it was viewed that men became virtuous and achieved the good life only through their participation in the polis (city-state). In this view, all citizens were active citizens. But only men over age 20 were eligible to participate, and their participation was premised on the unrecognized work of women, slaves, and immigrants who had virtually no political rights. While considering this highly unequal basis for governance, the direct democracy of Athens also offered the innovation of ideals of liberty, equality among its citizens, and respect for justice and law that challenged subsequent regimes of absolute rule and that continue to inspire democracies today.

• **Civic Republican Democracy:** The concept of "citizen" reemerged in the Italian Renaissance in the eleventh century, replacing the "dutiful subject" of previous monarchies who had derived their authority to rule as "God-given". Within these city-republics of Italy such as Venice, Florence, and Siena, citizens were male and propertied as in Greece. Their role was to participate in self-government with emphasis not only on liberty and virtue, but also on civic glory and military power. As a result, the republican conception of citizenship favored patriotism, public spirit, and willingness to set the common good above one's own interest. At least two strands of thinking came from this period. First was a focus on the intrinsic value of participation that enhanced the citizenry as decision-makers (e.g. Rousseau), and the second was the instrumentalist value of participation in order to protect one's own personal liberties (e.g. Machiavelli and Madison).

• **Liberal[2] Democracy:** Liberalism best describes the current framework of thinking in the United States today (Smith, 1997). Fundamental to liberalism are concepts of a private sphere separate from the state with an emphasis on individualism and on the values of

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[2] The use of "liberal" and "liberalism" throughout this paper invokes the values of "classical liberalism" described here, and not the current (sometimes pejorative) connotation of "liberalism" that describes advocates of government-managed solutions to address societal needs.

freedom of choice and toleration. Elaborated by Hobbes and Locke in the seventeenth century and continued through the writings of Mill, Montesquieu, and Madison, citizens in a liberal democracy essentially have the protection to pursue their interests within the private sphere, and it is an individual's choice to participate within the public sphere. At least two strands of liberalism have emerged: the first strand of liberalism emphasizes that citizens must protect themselves against the state's infringement of their rights and that the state should operate based on the common interests of the citizens.

The second strand of liberalism returns to the notion that participation in political life is necessary, not only to protect individual interests but to create an informed, committed citizenry. As will be explained in further detail, **communitarians** see the need to balance concern for self-interest with those of the community, thus moderating liberalism to an extent. For example, the right to carry arms may be restricted by the use of metal detectors in schools to protect the larger common interests of safety within school walls. Again, for most of these writers, "citizens" were primarily male and property-owning.

• **Participatory democracy:** Another form of democracy and citizenship was articulated in the 1970's to extend democratic principles of participation in decision-making to institutions beyond government that are most involved in the daily life of individuals, such as work and family. Essentially, one acts as a "citizen" in all realms of life, not simply in the public/political sphere, to nurture a concern for collective problems, to reduce estrangement from power sources, and to form an active, committed citizenry.

Within each of these models of democracy, the role of citizen differs as does what citizens are expected to know and to be able to do. For example, within the liberal model of democracy and citizenship, individuals participate at the level that they determine. Thus one may volunteer, may vote, or do nothing at all without reproof from others, as long as the rights of others are constrained. In a republican model of citizenship, however, individuals are expected to participate in the community, therefore knowledge of issues alone are not sufficient to fulfill one's role as citizens; skills of participation, such as talking, listening, and the willingness to act are also necessary. In a republican form of democracy, all "citizens" are be expected to provide service to the community. In sum, with each conception of democracy, different roles of citizens result with varying levels of skills and knowledge required.

The discussion of democratic theories thus far have been within the realm of political science that assumes the status of individuals as citizens (Axtmann, 1996). Non-citizens are not extensively addressed. It must also be noted briefly that other definitions of "citizenship" exist beyond the political juridical definition of citizenship as status. Sociologists, for example, focus on the practices of citizens, and do not solely focus on the political or legal status of individuals. "Citizenship may be defined as that set of practices (juridical, political, economic and cultural) which define a person as a competent member of society, and which as a consequence shape the flow of resources to persons and social groups" (Turner, 1993, 2). As one example, the practice of "citizenship" was illustrated by the actions of immigrant communities against California's Proposition 187 in, 1994 that excluded illegal immigrants from accessing health and educational services. Thus, for "citizenship as practice", one need not be a formal citizen to act as a "citizen" as organizers or advocates to influence public policies.

To bring these theories to the practices and outcomes of service-learning, based on rhetoric of service-learning and goals of teachers, service-learning appears to invoke a more civic republican ideal of citizenship that emphasizes individuals' connections and responsibilities to a larger community. Service-learning also supports sociologists' views

that it is the practice, not the status, of individuals that are important in defining citizenship[3]. It is important to realize that this community-oriented, participatory conception of citizenship is counter to the prevailing classical liberal sentiments in American schools and culture that appear to emphasize individualism and competition.

While these theories articulate different conceptions of citizenship, several writers have observed that service-learning also have very different goals of charity or social change (Kahne and Westheimer, 1996; Morton, 1995; Westheimer and Kahne, 2000). I overlay those purposes with the different conceptions of citizenship outlined above to suggest a way of thinking about how service-learning can achieve at least four types of goals that were reflected in our teacher and student interview data. While not meant to imply that these categories are mutually exclusive, the table illustrates another way to frame discussions of conceptions of citizenship that may be fostered through service-learning experiences.

Table 1.   Theories and Goals of Citizenship

	Charity Based on altruism, not challenging the status quo	**Social change** Based on engagement with institutions and systems, challenging the status quo
Classical Liberalism says: • Focus on personal choice and interests	Helping other individuals meet immediate needs (personal choice to help others). "I should help people in need."	Working to change conditions through actions that influence institutions and systems (personal choice to change things) "I should act/vote/protest to help change things in my community."
Civic Republicanism says: • Focus on the interests of the collective (interests of others)	Helping members of the community is a responsibility (concern for welfare of the community to meet immediate needs). "I should volunteer to help meet the needs in my community."	Working to organize others to change conditions in the community and society (concern for the welfare of the collective in addressing long-term solutions). "We need to change the laws and systems of our society."

Conceptions of Citizenship Defined in School Practices

In addition to theoretical debates that leave citizenship contested, the practices of teaching citizenship have also varied throughout the history of schools.

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[3] As an interesting sidenote, while there has been inquiries on a service-learning listserv about how to involve immigrant children in service-learning activities potentially to develop the practices and behaviors of "citizenship", there has been limited (if any) discussion about the role that service-learning may play in encouraging individuals to become citizens in status -- that is, to explicitly encourage non-citizens to become citizens. Data on this topic, however, was not collected in this study and so is not within the scope of this report, but the issue raises another potential relationship between service and citizenship.

• **Citizenship as nation-building:** For example, the "Americanizing" influence of "citizenship education" during the waves of immigration took place in the late 19th and early 20th century (including times of international conflict such as World Wars I and II). To be American (and patriotic) was significant to instill in children, especially those who had immigrated. In addition, being an American and a citizen also emphasized certain habits of cleanliness and discipline (Tyack, 1974).

• **Citizenship as rights and responsibilities:** The explicit curriculum in many civics or social studies courses defined citizenship as status by describing ways individuals become citizens (birth and naturalization), and by focusing on the Constitution as prescribing rights and responsibilities of citizens (Niemi and Junn, 1998).

• **Citizenship as "good behavior":** In addition to what was taught in the curriculum, students learned about citizenship through the implicit curriculum, including citizenship grades that rewarded students' good behavior. In this conception of "good citizenship", when a child followed the rules of the classroom or school, they were rewarded with good "citizenship" grades (which still exist in many schools, as was evidenced in the schools in this study).

• **Citizenship as "helping others":** Students are also encouraged by other forms of implicit curriculum to help others or to contribute to the school or classroom community by such awards as "good citizens of the month" or "good students of the month". In other words, while good citizenship grades reward students for behaving well, good citizenship awards also add an element of the importance of helping or going beyond what is normally expected (e.g. following rules) to doing something that promotes the welfare of others. The fact that these awards are given infrequently (typically once a month) signifies the exceptional nature of recognizing helpful behavior.

Given a democracy where ideas are freely exchanged and valued, developing consensus support for one type of citizen over another may be impossible and even undesirable (Engle and Ochoa, 1988; Ichilov, 1990). For example, it would be wholly undemocratic to impose a particular conception of citizenship on every individual.

Instead, service-learning can be viewed as an opportunity to teach students (and adults, for that matter) about the many conceptions and dimensions of citizenship, to deepen their understanding of the public work of citizens, and the many ways to address issues found in their communities. Service-learning becomes the means of exposing students to a civic republican, participatory, community-oriented conception of citizenship that is counter to or extends prevailing liberal conceptions of citizenship focused on individualism and self-interest that is taught (implicitly or explicitly) in schools and in the larger culture. Rather than leaving the education of alternative conceptions of citizenship to chance, students can then choose among alternatives rather than living (unknowingly) with a single conception of liberal citizenship (Battistoni, 2000).

STUDY DESIGN, METHODS AND SETTINGS

Design and Methods of the Study

The study initially proposed to examine the following research questions: What and how do students learn about citizenship through service-learning? Or asked another way, in what ways do service-learning experiences contribute to students' understanding of citizenship?

The proposed research questions focused on how a particular instructional strategy influenced student development, and so a quasi-experimental research design offered the greatest opportunity to examine comparisons between students who are involved in service-learning and those who are not. This way, student responses from service-learning classrooms could be compared to student responses from non-service-learning classrooms to see if there were differences between the two sets that may be attributed to the service-learning experiences.

Limitations

There are important limits to a quasi-experimental research design and such limitations were taken very seriously (Weiss, 1998). Although this design provides the greatest level of confidence in reporting differences in outcomes, public education is a complex enterprise, full of variables that are beyond the control of teachers and administrators. So the notion of controlling for "all variables" to test one intervention is challenging at best. For example, attempting to control for teacher and school effects with the use of matched classrooms by teachers may be thwarted by school scheduling that does not allow for complete randomization of student subjects. In addition, teachers have reported that every class "has a personality of its own" that is often inexplicable to them and thus could affect any differences in outcomes. The influences of children's lives with their families and in their communities, such as neglect and violence, may thwart the best intentioned instructional strategies in the classroom. Despite these limits, however, the quasi-experimental design still provided the most useful way to consider what service-learning may uniquely contribute to students' development.

Settings and Sample

The settings

Given its demographic profile and political climate, California is a particularly interesting state to examine in the context of citizenship education and service-learning. As a state that incorporates as estimated two million illegal immigrants each year (INS, 1996), California voters expressed their concerns in 1994. The passage of state Proposition 187 limited access to education and public health resources to "legal immigrants" which automatically cast attention on the legal (read "citizenship") status of individuals or families. In addition, teachers in the public schools were expected essentially to be agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service; if they identified students or families to be illegal immigrants, teachers were expected to report them. As a result of continuing demographic changes and a political environment that is sensitive to citizenship status, exploring "citizenship education" in California could provide additional insights to the traditional concerns within citizenship education literature of what "knowledge, skills, and values" are taught.

In addition, California provides rich opportunities to identify and share lessons regarding the policy and practice of service-learning for several important reasons. The numbers of schools implementing community service and service-learning requirements has grown significantly in the last three years, indicating a growing interest in community-service-based experiences for students as well as a growing need for better information about how and why service-learning works for students of all ages. For example, the number of schools with community service requirements has grown 38% since the data has been collected, from 39 districts in 1997 to 54 districts in 1999. Similarly, the number of schools with service-learning requirements has grown 50% since the data has been collected, from 12 districts in 1997 to 18 districts in 1999 (California Department of Education, 2000).

In addition to interest at the local level, interest at the state level has also grown. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction recently released a report from a state service-learning task force outlining recommendations for the implementation of service-learning. Recently, the state was one of five states chosen to participate in the "Learning in Deed" initiative by the W.K. Kellogg Foundation to identify and to develop policies that support service-learning. Given this rich environment of policy and practices that promotes service-learning, a study of citizenship education in a diverse collection of California public schools will provide insights that will be useful to service-learning practitioners and policymakers throughout the country.

As a subset of a larger study by the Service-Learning Research and Development Center (SLRDC) at the University of California, Berkeley, seven K-12 school-community service-learning partnerships volunteered to participate in this study. They represented the range of diverse communities in California, including northern, central, and southern regions that included rural, suburban, and urban areas. Such diversity among communities is desirable to capture the range of experiences and conceptions of citizenship that are influenced by community history and context (Conover and Searing, 2000).

The sample

At least three service-learning teachers and at least one matched comparison classroom participated from each partnership. Information packets were mailed to coordinators, teachers, and evaluators during the summer to prepare for the study during the 1999-2000 school year. The teachers and evaluators attended a training in August 1999 to discuss the various instruments involved in data collection.

The participating students and teachers were engaged in a diversity of service-learning projects. For example, high school students examined the role of violence in their own lives and developed presentations and projects to help other students express themselves in non-violent ways. Students of all ages tutored their younger peers in "book buddy" reading programs. Schools and communities became the recipients of student-organized gardens that were used as "interpretative labs" to help teach science as well as to produce vegetables, herbs, and flowers that were given to various groups in the community. Students interviewed elders in their communities to provide companionship as well as to gather information for a community oral history.

Data was drawn from a sample of service-learning students who were individually interviewed (n=95), and from a sample of service-learning teachers (n=27) who participated in individual interviews and completed teacher "portfolios" to describe their service-learning projects. The students represented a range of grades from three to twelve, and also represented a range of cultural and ethnic backgrounds. The students participated in

service-learning projects in various classes including Social Studies, Language Arts, Foreign Language, and Math. Subjects under 18 years of age were given a parental consent form for their parents to sign.

In addition, individual interviews were conducted with students from comparison classrooms (n=12) and teachers (n=6) who were considered matched classrooms because of the similar composition of student populations. To collect information from a representative sample of students, a random sample of students (between four to six students per classroom) were selected to be interviewed. Because of time constraints during site visits, all comparison classrooms were not included in data collection because priority was given to collect information from the service-learning classrooms. While this is a weakness in the overall data collection, enough data was collected to provide suggestive findings, as will be discussed in the next section of the report.

Data Collection and Analyses

Challenges of measuring citizenship

Once the design of the study was decided, one of the most important challenges was to figure out how to define and then to measure "citizenship", a term that is often used in rhetoric but rarely defined in practice. Since citizenship is a very abstract concept for adults, it was challenging to devise ways to ask students, from grades three to twelve, about their understanding of citizenship. The most useful methodology to collect this type of data was the semi-structured interview with students and teachers to query and to probe them on their experiences with service-learning as well as their understanding of "citizenship" as a term and concept taught in school. Scenarios were developed for students and teachers to choose one of several options, and then to provide their reasoning for their choices.

Interviews offered benefits and challenges which were carefully weighed. The benefits included the fact that interviews allow for follow-up questions to clarify terms or ideas. Interviews did not depend on students' reading abilities, and they were suitable to probe for students' and teachers' reasoning about their answers. Challenges of using interviews included the fact that they were more time-consuming to administer as they required individual administration. As a result, we were only able to interview a sample of four to six students in each classroom (both service-learning and comparison). It was also more time-consuming to analyze data. Despite these challenges, interviews remained the most useful way to collect data.

Although paper and pencil measures offered some benefits such as economy and consistency in administration, surveys were not a reliable way to capture students' attitudes about a concept as abstract as citizenship. Surveys depend on children's reading abilities; create problems in data if some students have difficulty in following instructions; and provide information about students' judgments, but not their reasoning in order to better understand their responses. While other measures of citizenship often focus primarily on students' understanding of content (such as the National Assessment of Educational Progress), I wanted examine to more complex understanding of citizenship that related to values, attitudes, skills, and behaviors because these dimensions are not typically assessed because they are too difficult or too expensive to assess in large-scale way. As a result, the interview format provided the best means of collecting data.

All formal interviews were taped. Interviews were coded based on categories that were drawn from the data, and the information was then analyzed for evidence of themes, patterns, and disconfirming cases.

<u>Student Data</u>

It is important to note that students were not asked for a direct definition of the term, "citizen". This was done for two reasons: (1) because I was not interested in whether students could convey the strict definition of citizenship, and (2) because teachers during our pilot phase had expressed concern that the term would intimidate children. Rather, I was interested in their normative understanding of "citizen", and so students were asked what they thought a "good citizen" was or did. This was perceived by teachers to be less threatening to students, and also more directly addressed the interest in service-learning literature of the desired traits of citizenship.

An interview protocol was developed that contained questions that explored details about the service projects, classroom activities (such as preparation and reflection), and student learning in various areas (including personal, civic and academic) (see Appendix A). The focus of this data for this particular report came from two interview scenarios that were developed to facilitate conversations with students about their attitudes about service and citizenship. The service scenario offered students five choices of community service projects among which they could choose (see Appendix B). This scenario was intended to gather students' reasoning and attitudes about service, and to examine relationships between their ideas about service and about citizenship. Students were then asked to pick the project that they would most want to do and to explain their reasons for picking the project. They were also asked to explain why they did not pick the other project ideas. The citizenship scenario contained three choices of conceptions of citizenship that were drawn from the theories and practices of citizenship that were described earlier (see Appendix C), and again, students were asked to select an option (or describe one of their own) and offer their reasons for selecting that option as well as their reasons for not picking the other options. An interview protocol was also developed for comparison students that asked about their activities inside and outside of school, and that included the two scenarios for service and citizenship (see Appendix D).

<u>Teacher Data</u>

The teachers were individually interviewed, using a semi-structured format with interview protocol (see Appendix E). Teachers were queried about their motivations for including service-learning in their classrooms, how projects were designed, and the goals and intended learning outcomes of the projects. In addition, 31 teachers completed "portfolios" (surveys) that summarized the goals and practices of their service-learning projects. An interview protocol was also developed for comparison teachers that focused on the learning goals they had for their students, and on how they chose their instructional strategies (see Appendix F).

16

FINDINGS:

MANY REASONS TO SERVE

Students as active participants in the learning process

Consistent with constructivist theories, students were not assumed to be blank slates upon which service-learning (or any other teaching strategies) inscribed specific knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviors. Rather, the service-learning experiences provided opportunities for students to engage their past knowledge, experiences, and understandings about the world. Analogous to Tyack and Cuban's (1997) analysis that schools did just as much to change reforms as reforms tried to change schools, students did just as much to affect the process and outcomes of service-learning as the service-learning experiences were intended to change students. The diversity of student responses about their attitudes about service and citizenship, even within classrooms with teachers who clearly and consistently articulated specific learning goals, illustrated this active role that students had in engaging with the service-learning experiences.

In addition to actively participating and shaping the learning that took place in their own heads, students also influenced service-learning projects in at least two ways:

1) Students brought their previous experiences and attitudes about service, community and citizenship to their service-learning projects (as indicated in many of the students who cited parents, siblings or other community influences as shaping their thinking); and

2) Teachers appeared to interpret what they believed their students needed, and those interpretations tended to frame the experiences for the students. Teachers interviews gave clear examples of this. For example, a teacher in a school in a small rural district talked about her project in terms of increasing students' appreciation for and connection to their community because of the problem of young people leaving the area after high school. Another teacher in a culturally diverse urban area justified her focus on improving her students' literacy skills and her *lack* of emphasis on volunteerism by saying about her students, "They don't have to be taught how to help people because that is a part of who they are and who their families are...There's nothing I could give them but to bring out the academic."

In an attempt to better understand what students brought to the service-learning experience, this study attempted to examine students' attitudes about service. The student interviews illustrated distinct differences in the way they think about service, which may also give insights into how they think about citizenship (presuming that there is a relationship between the two concepts). Based on research in moral development, this reasoning for their choices became the focus of understanding how they were making sense of their service work, and what they were taking from the service-learning experiences.

Beyond "Student Voice"

While many service-learning advocates promote service-learning as a vehicle to promote a variety of civic and personal outcomes, the role of the student has been primarily described to promoting "student voice" as one of many elements of quality service-learning. For example, various sets of "quality elements" reviewed by Naughton (2000)

included specific mention of youth voice or youth leadership. Yet, descriptions of those elements were limited mostly to relatively generic statements to include students' interests in the selection of the project, or to encourage student leadership in implementation. In an effort to better understand what would be contained in "students' voices", students were interviewed regarding their attitudes about service, their service-learning projects, and their understanding of citizenship.

Students' Attitudes about Service

An interview scenario was developed to query students' attitudes about service (See Table 2.). Students were asked, "if you had a choice, what kind of service project would you want to do?" The projects were included in the scenario for several reasons: (1) they were similar to service-learning projects that were taking place throughout California; (2) there were varying elements of human interaction; (3) different kinds of reasoning were given that students would be able to respond to; (4) a continuum of service were included, from direct one-on-one work to advocacy activities; and (5) one project explicitly attempted to focus on a moral issue rather than community need. Based on the interview scenario below, even within grade levels and age groups, students articulated very different types of reasons for choosing among service-learning projects. These differences in students' orientations indicated that students were motivated to do service for different reasons.

Table 2.   Interview Scenario for Choice of Service Projects

Another class at school was talking about doing a service project. The class members had several ideas:

#1   Jim suggested that the class plan some flowers outside the school to make it look nicer so that students would feel more proud of their school.

#2   Sarah suggested that the class should write letters and cards to elderly people in the retirement home and then go and spend some time talking with them.

#3   Greg thought that they should help the first graders at a nearby school with their reading because he remembered how hard it was to learn to read, and also his sister is a first grader.

#4   Lola thought the class should write letters to the city council and the mayor asking for more recycling containers throughout the city.

#5   Anthony reported that a store in town treats kids unfairly (following them around, not letting more than two in at a time). He thinks the class should write letters to the store owners saying why all people should be treated the same.

The diversity of students' reasoning about the service projects is illustrated in the tables below:

Types of Reasoning that Students Give when Choosing or Not Choosing a Service Project

Table 3a.   Focused on the student

Type of Reason	Essential Question	Reasons for Choosing	Reasons for Not Choosing
Personal Interest	What am I interested in doing?	The project sounds fun or interesting.	The project sounds "boring".
Learning something new	What haven't I tried yet?	I haven't tried that project yet.	I've done that already.
Personal Benefit	What will make things better for my situation?	That would make things better for my school or city.	That wouldn't make things better for my school or city.
Sense of personal efficacy	What am I good at?	I can do that well (e.g. writing, tutoring, etc.).	I can't do that very well.

Table 3b.   Focused on the community

Type of Reason	Essential Question	Reasons for Choosing	Reasons for Not Choosing
Efficacy of the project	Is this project an effective way to address the need?	This project will make a difference.	This project won't make a difference.
Greatest need in the community (based on personal experience)	What is most needed in the community, based on what is important to people I know and care about?	I've experienced this so I know it's important **or** I know someone who needed that kind of help, and I know it's important to do.	I haven't experienced this **or** I don't know anybody that's had that happen to them.
Greatest need in the community (based on analysis of benefits and costs)	What is most needed in the community, based on an analysis of the community needs?	This is the greatest need in the community **or** Nobody else is doing that.	This isn't a need in the community, **or** Someone else is already doing that.

Based on their responses to these scenarios, students chose options for different reasons, and sometimes they did not choose other projects based on similar reasoning. To illustrate the diversity of students' attitudes about why they would choose one project over another, it was striking to observe that for almost every project that was selected for one type of reason illustrated below, those same projects were <u>not</u> chosen by other students for similar (but the opposite) reasoning.

For example, based on an analysis of cost and benefits, one student selected the project to tutor the younger students after discarding each of the other projects because he felt that tutoring would meet the most important need in the community: "they're our future (and) teachers help them but if you help them a lot more, then the future would be a lot stronger." In contrast, but also based on an analysis of costs and benefits, another student did <u>not</u> choose tutoring because "their teachers are already helping them read". So her first choice was to visit the elderly because "they don't have a lot of people to come and talk to them."

In sum, reasons that students gave to choose or not choose a service project fell into two types of reasoning: one based on personal interests, and one based on community interests. The personal interests included concerns about whether a project would be fun, whether the student would learn something new, whether they would benefit from the service, and whether it was an effective use of their time and effort. Community interests were reflected by concerns about whether the service project would effectively address the community issue, or if the need to be addressed was the most important need in the community (whether determined by personal experience, or by an analysis of costs and benefits).

This variety of perspectives indicated that students' attitudes about and experiences with service activities should be recognized and incorporated as part of the service-learning projects. This phenomenon should not be viewed a problem but rather as a necessary part of the learning and development process of every youth to become "an intellectually reflective person, a person en route to a lifetime of meaningful work, a good citizen, a caring and ethical individual, and a healthy person" (Pittman and Cahill, 1992, 19).

Since students' attitudes about service reflected tremendous diversity based on their choices and reasoning, it was expected that their attitudes about citizenship are similarly affected by their personal experience as well as the experiences in their service-learning projects and classrooms.

THE COMPLEXITY OF CITIZENSHIP

Before going into specific detail about students' thoughts about citizenship, it is important to understand the context of the schools and classrooms in which students and teacher participated in service-learning. Although "(f)ostering active citizenship among young people is by far the most commonly mentioned rationale for service-learning" (Kielsmeier 2000), the language of citizenship was conspicuously missing from many service-learning experiences for students.

Limited Language of "Citizenship"

Essentially, the use of the term, "citizen", was very limited in most service-learning classrooms. With the exception of two service-learning teachers, most teachers and many students reported that they did not hear or use the term "citizen" in class or as part of their service-learning projects. Many times, teachers chose other words to encode their civic concepts or goals, such as being a "good person" or a "good member" of the classroom, school or community because they feared that students have other connotations attached to the term "citizenship".

For example, several teachers indicated that they did not use the term because they did not want to create an environment of fear that they will report students or their families to the INS if they were in the United States illegally. Other teachers reported that teaching about "citizenship" is not in their grade level of the curriculum ("they'll get that in the eighth/twelfth grade"), or that teaching about citizenship "doesn't seem to be a priority to teach at my school". Still other teachers had not thought about service-learning "in that way" of teaching about concepts of citizenship, indicating an overall lack of awareness of potential relationship between service-learning and citizenship. Still other teachers seemed to view "citizenship" as involving a broader (or different) set of concepts than those they want to foster, such as a focus on the study of government. Mostly, it appeared that teachers simply assumed that students understood the civic purposes for their service-learning project and therefore the class did not need to spend time discussing it.

Whatever the reason for the frequent absence of discussion about service-learning and citizenship, there appear to be related consequences for students. That is, students' ability to articulate reasons for civic participation appears to be affected by the extent to which teachers clearly and repeatedly discuss the reasons for service and anticipated outcomes for them, as well as for service recipients. Put simply, the more explicitly and consistently teachers articulated reasons for what students were doing, the more students were able to speak fluently on those topics, and to be able to reason more extensively.

This limited use of the term (let alone the concept) of citizenship has important implications. Should the term not be used because it is so loaded with conflicting connotations that it is no longer useful in our lexicon? Should alternative words or phrases be used that more accurately reflect what we mean, such as "community participation", or "democratic participation"? Or do we continue to use the term because it still holds power? For example, laws or policies are passed that restrict funding to "citizens" for educational loans, fellowships, health care, investments, etc. These are very difficult questions that have far reaching, though seemingly ethereal, consequences. The essential question we should ask is: what do we want future generations and the general public to think of when they hear the term, "citizen"? That reasoning should guide and defend our decisions to use or the term.

It is important to acknowledge that just because teachers did not explicitly connect service-learning and citizenship did not mean that students learn nothing relevant to citizenship. But the lack of language created a more ambiguous relationship between service-learning and citizenship, and also essentially forced students to make their own connections (if they so chose) between the two concepts of service and citizenship.

Asking Students about Citizenship

In order to ask students (especially younger ones) directly about their opinions without causing them anxiety in being "tested", an interview scenario was developed that offered students choices to discuss. The scenario was prefaced with the following explanation: "Lots of times, adults want students to do service because it will help them become 'good citizens', but it turns out that people mean different things when they say, 'good citizen' so we want to know what you think it means to be a good citizen." Students were then given a choice of three options, or they could describe their own idea of what it meant to be a good citizen.

For the purposes of this study, "citizenship" was defined in three ways based on political and sociological theories and based in practices of schooling. The individual student interviews included a scenario of three types of "good citizens" that reflected three conceptions of citizenship, including (1) citizenship as an adult role (Jim) (2) citizenship as legal status (Chris), and (3) citizenship as community participant (Martha).

Table 4.   Interview Scenario for Citizenship

Some students, Bill, Chris and Martha, were talking about what it means to be a good citizen.

#1   Jim said that grown-ups who vote and don't break laws are good citizens.

#2   Chris said that a good citizen is someone who was born in this country, or has passed a test for citizenship.

#3   Martha said that a good citizen is anyone (even a young person) who tries to make the school or neighborhood better.

Students and teachers were asked to pick the idea that they agreed with most and to explain why they agreed with that statement. They were also asked to explain why they did not pick the other conceptions. Students and teachers were also encouraged to come up with their own idea of what it means to be a "good citizen

So, what do students think about citizenship? The following tables illustrate the types of reasoning that students used in explaining their choices, and in also explaining why they did not choose other options.

Table 5a.   OPTION #1: Citizenship as Voting and Following Laws[4]

Type of Reason	Reason for Choosing	# of Students who chose this option		Reason for not Choosing	# of Students who did not chose this option	
		SL	Comp		SL	Comp
Importance of Rules	It is important to follow laws and rules.	33% (9/27)	29% (2/7)	Everybody breaks a law at some point (some laws are more important than others).	27% (13/49)	0% (0/4)
Consequences of Breaking Laws/Rules	You could get into trouble if you break laws or rules.	7% (2/27)	21% (2/7)	I might break a law when nobody's watching.	2% (1/49)	0% (0/4)
Justness of laws	Laws are there for a reason, they protect people **or** following rules makes the world a better place.	11% (3/27)	14% (1/7)	Some laws are unjust or unfair and should be challenged.	8% (4/49)	0% (0/4)
Importance of Voting	Voting is important way to serve community or to give thanks for privilege.	19% (5/27)	0% (0/7)	Voting doesn't make a difference OR you can not vote and still do good things.	12% (6/49)	50% (2/4)
Scope of Citizenship	Citizenship is about following laws and voting, and people who do that are likely to also be good people.	7% (2/27)	0% (0/7)	Voting and following laws is not enough because you can be a mean and unhelpful person even if you don't break laws and vote.	22% (11/49)	25% (1/4)
Importance of Inclusion	Only grownups should be considered good citizens.	0% (0/27)	0% (0/7)	This choice does not include children.	16% 8/49	25% (1/4)
No explanation given		26% (7/27)	43% (3/7)		14% (7/49)	0% (0/4)
Total number service-learning students who selected this option as their first or best choice:	28% (27/95)					
Total number of comparison students who selected this option as their first or best choice:	58% (7/12)					

[4] The numbers of reasons on these three charts do not add up to the total number of students because some students gave more than one reason for their first choice, or for not choosing this option. It should also reiterated that the comparison sample, while small, was representative because students were randomly selected to be interviewed, and so the findings are suggestive.

Table 5 b.   OPTION #2: Citizenship as Status (by birth or naturalization)

Reason	Reason for Choosing	# of Students who chose this option		Reason for not Choosing	# of Students who did not chose this option	
		SL	Comp		SL	Comp
Importance of status	You can't be a good citizen without being a citizen, **or** A citizen is a person who's born here, no matter what.	60% (3/5)	0%	This idea doesn't have anything to do with good citizenship.	33% (20/60)	67% (4/6)
Fairness	This idea includes people who care enough about the country to go through process.	20% (1/5)	0%	This idea excludes people who are good and do good; some people have trouble with tests.	43% (26/60)	0% (0/6)
Scope of citizenship		0% (0/5)	0%	This idea includes people who are bad or do not make any effort to help.	25% (15/60)	33% (2/6)
No explanation given		20% (1/5)	0%		3% (2/60)	0% (0/6)
Total number service-learning students who selected this option as their first or best choice:		5% (5/95)				
Total number of comparison students who selected this option as their first or best choice:		0% (0/12)				

Table 5c. OPTION #3: Citizenship as Helping (Including anyone who helps)

Reason	Reason for Choosing	# of Students who chose this option		Reason for not Choosing	# of Students who did not choose this option	
		SL	Comp		SL	Comp
Importance of helping	You have to help make the school, community, or world a better place.	44% (34/77)	33% (2/6)	It's your choice whether or not you help.	20%	0%
Issue of Inclusion	This includes kids and immigrants as well as people who make mistakes.	29% (22/77)	50% (3/6)	You can help but still doesn't make you a citizen (status is important).	10%	0%
Scope of citizenship	If you are helping, you probably won't get into trouble or break laws.	6% (5/77)	17% (1/6)	You can help and be superficial about it or still break laws; helping is not enough, you need to vote	50%	100%
Only by not choosing others	This one was the best of the three ideas.	13% (10/77)	0% (0/6)		0%	0%
Self-benefit	Helping other people will also help yourself.	5% (4/77)	0% (0/6)		0%	0%
Depth	Being involved makes you better informed.	4% (3/77)	0% (0/6)		0%	0%
Need for sincerity or sacrifice	It's important to help but you must be sincere and not do it for a reward.	3% (2/77)	0% (0/6)		0%	0%
No explanation given		5% (4/77)	0% (0/6)		20%	0%
Total number service-learning students who selected this option as their first or best choice:	81% (77/95)					
Total number of comparison students who selected this option as their first or best choice:	50% (6/12)					

1) The complexity of citizenship

Given the diversity of student reasoning for why they selected particular options, citizenship is clearly a complicated and contested concept. Students selected each of the concepts for very different reasons which are discussed in more detail below.

Since the term "citizen" was used both for status and for desired behaviors, it was not surprising to find that students appeared to have an incomplete understanding of the full complexity of the concept in theory or in practice. Also, it seemed that many students were confused about the concept.

2) Citizenship as helping others

Given that the relationship between service-learning and citizenship appeared to be ambiguous or unarticulated for the most part, it is surprising in one way (and not surprising in another) that many students (81%) who were involved in service-learning believed that a "good citizen is anyone (even a young person) who tries to make their school or neighborhood better".

• 36 students (44% of service-learning students and 33% of comparison students) selected Option #3 for the reason that the conception of "good citizen" emphasized the importance of helping others, as exemplified by the following student statement:

> "It's not whether you pass a test, it's not whether you're born here, it's you want to help the community. If you want to make it a better place, then you're a good person, you're a good citizen… If you are here just because you want to help yourself, you're not really a good citizen, you're just here."

• 25 other students (29% of service-learning students and 50% of comparison students) selected Option #3 for reasons of inclusion because it included anyone "even a young person" or non-citizens. As many students noted, "everybody could be a good citizen if they helped out."

What is surprising is that even though the language of citizenship in the context of service-learning experiences is largely silent, many service-learning students (81%) believe in the importance of not just being a citizen, but acting as one. Since only 50% of the comparison students selected this option, it appeared that service-learning contributed to at least affirming this conception of citizenship for students.

The other 50% of comparison students selected Option #1, because they felt that good citizens were adults who voted and who did not break laws "because it's important to follow the rules" (a lesson learned from teachers and other adults, and supported by the citizenship grades and awards in school). Only 28% of the service-learning students selected Option #1. While there were several reasons cited by service-learning students to select this option, most of the service-learning students who did not choose this option believed that some laws are not fair or just. As observed by one service-learning student, "You have to break some rules to make things better."

On the other hand, the fact that so many students involved in service-learning chose the "helping" conception of citizenship was not surprising because the very fact that service-learning projects were sanctioned as part of a teacher's curriculum validated those students' experiences of serving their community as important and desirable to do.

3) Contrary to many textbooks, citizenship is NOT about status

As described by several teachers in the study, the "textbook" definition of citizenship (with its focus on status with rights and responsibilities) appeared to mean very little to students as only five students (5% of service-learning students, and no comparison students) chose Option #2 because the technical definition of citizenship as status (being born or naturalized) was significant to them.

As emphatically stated by one young woman who lives near the border of California and Mexico, "it's true, because somebody that is born here is a citizen, and who passes a citizen test, you can be a citizen." She continues, "you can help the neighborhood or the schools, but that doesn't make you a citizen."

In contrast, many students (63% of service-learning students and 50% of comparison students) did not agree with the statement that "a good citizen is someone who was born in this country, or has passed a test for citizenship". Students disagreed for many reasons:

- Citizenship is an accident:

"If you're born in this country, you were just born... it's not something you just did."

"Some people come here to start a new life, but some people come here to run away…and they bring all their troubles to the United States, (but) it's not their fault they weren't born here."

- The technical status as a citizen doesn't make automatically make you a good person or community member:

"You can be born in this country and kill people."

"Just because you were born here doesn't mean you really give a damn about this country or the people in it."

"Some people in different countries probably come here and are better than people over here."

- Technical status as a citizen is insufficient:

"Because you don't have to be born here, or pass a test that asks questions about this country, you have do the stuff that makes this country better or the neighborhood better."

A few students were either confused, or felt very strongly that the status of citizenship is not meaningful at all when they said:

"Anybody can be a citizen, even if they just came to this country."

"I feel if you're living in this city or this country, no matter if you're here illegally, you're a citizen."

4) The (Missing) Link between Service and Voting (Puzzle #2)

As illustrated by the charts above, very few of the students mentioned the importance of voting in connection with their understanding of citizenship or service (five out of 107 students). Only eight other students mentioned voting, and it was framed as a negative ("voting doesn't make a difference", or "you don't have to vote to be a good citizen", or "voting isn't enough"). The form of citizenship as self-governance through political participation represents a critical connection between service and citizenship that needs to be explored.

Based on the high number of teachers and students who focused on the citizen as helper, and the very few teachers that focused on issues of justice and social change, most service-learning appeared to promote a non-political process that does not fundamentally question the sources of power and the status quo that exists. As succinctly stated by one service-learning teacher, "it makes sense that teachers wouldn't question policies or bring in the government through their service-learning project if they do not see the service-learning as a form of social change". And in short, based on our interviews with service-learning teachers and students, it appeared that there is little connection between service-learning projects and the overall formal political process.

Voting is often mentioned as one of the primary rights and duties of citizens in a democracy, and it represents one of the most widely followed measures of "civic engagement" (Eyler and Giles, 1999). The connection between current service by youth and future participation as voters is one that is often assumed by service-learning advocates. For example, Keilsmeier (2000) observed that "(f)ostering active citizenship among young people is by far the most commonly mentioned rationale for service-learning. Support for this view has been strengthened by the decline among young people in some indices of citizenship, *particularly voting rates"(Emphasis added)*. In light of the limited connections teachers are making between service and citizenship, and the lack of emphasis on service-learning as social change, the implicit assumption about the relationship between current service-learning experiences and future acts as citizens (such as voting) should be addressed.

This topic of low voter turnout by youth coupled with their increasing desire to volunteer has received significant attention during campaign debates, radio shows, and newspaper articles in recent months as the 2000 Presidential elections approach. It appears to be one of the major puzzles for the service-learning field and the general public that young people are more likely to volunteer than to vote (Hart and Associates, 1998; Mellman Group 2000; National Association of Secretaries of State, 1999).

Based on student interviews, students primarily viewed good citizens as helping to improve their communities, not as voting adults. While the issue of low voter turnout cuts across all segments of the population, the fact that very few students connected their idea of "good citizenship" to voting indicated how unimportant the vote is to young people (many of whom are admittedly not of voting age). For example, some students felt that voting was not important because "it doesn't really change anything". Other students said that "voting is important and everything" but they were not able elaborate on their reasons why they felt it was important, indicating a limited understanding (and perhaps motivation) for why voting is important except simply as a duty of a citizen. Other students felt that voting was important, but that was something that they could not do now, so they would focus on what they were able to do now. Still other students indicated an understanding of voting as just one aspect of citizenship. As one high school student pointed out, "It is good to vote

so you have a choice for President and stuff, but they can't, like Presidents or Senators, they can't do all the work. You have to help them."

While this study did not attempt to examine in depth students' attitudes about voting, other reports and organizations have begun to address the issue between the apparent "disconnect" between young people's inclination to volunteer and their disinclination to vote. For example, polls administered by the Mellman Group (2000) and Peter Hart and Associates (1998) as well as organizations such as the Education Commission of the States, the American Youth Policy Forum, National Association of Secretaries of State, Youth Service California, and Youth Service America have focused attention on this topic. Judging from the limited discussion provided by students and teachers on the importance of voting and its relationship to their service projects, it appears that the non-political nature of service-learning that does not connect to larger policies and formal political processes may be contributing (albeit perhaps unintentionally) to this phenomenon.

This phenomenon of service as an alternative to politics should lead service-learning practitioners to question the goals and practices of current service-learning experiences. Service-learning programs may be promoting the "citizen as helper" concept while ignoring the political responsibilities of citizens to vote and to participate in other avenues of self-governance, thus contributing to this phenomena of service, not as a pathway to greater political participation, but as an <u>alternative</u> to political participation.

There are some who would take issue with this position, and argue that it is not a problem that youth are more apt to volunteer than to vote. One could say that service is a form of civic engagement, and thus should also be valued as an important indicator. After all, voting is not the only significant measure of a civic-minded and engaged populace (Eyler and Giles, 1999). Others may say that the predilection of youth to spend their time volunteering that gives them immediate reward is very logical especially given the limits to the voting age (over 18). In addition, volunteering instead of voting is within their rights in a liberal democracy that offers individuals the ultimate choice in how intensively they choose to participate in self-governance through voting. Hart and Associates (1998) framed it a different way, explaining that youth today have a different way to create change in communities, through "bottom-up" leadership and a distinctly personal relationships, not through institutional change.

But these views perpetuate the apparent disconnect between service and politics between the direct service that can inform one's views and the action that one can take at the ballot box. In sum, without a connection to voting, then citizenship as an act of self-governance is lost. It is understandable that youth (and probably adults) want to be efficacious and spend their time in a worthwhile manner, but this position could also be critiqued if the commitment to addressing serious social problems does not include attention to changes in policies and laws through the practice of politics.

While the findings in this study are suggestive of the positive aspects of service-learning in developing citizenship, there is a greater need for more attention and discussion about this particular puzzle of service-learning for citizenship education: the relationship between service, citizenship, and voting. Without explicit attention to the connections among these concepts, the service-learning field runs a high risk of creating youth with "impoverished" conceptions of citizenship, as expressed by Westheimer and Kahne (2000):

> "When the emphasis is on helping but not on the factors that create the need for help, we risk teaching students that need is inevitable, that alleviating momentary suffering but not its origins is the only expression of responsible citizenship."

BRIDGING SERVICE AND CITIZENSHIP (Puzzle #3)

So what is the relationship between service and citizenship? One strategy to explore this relationship is to examine how proponents of service-learning have articulated the connection between service-learning and citizenship development. For example, the <u>Essential Elements of Service-Learning</u> (National Service-learning Cooperative, 1998) stated that :

> "(t)he special vision of service-learning is that children and youth are a resource **now**, that young people are not just preparing to be productive citizens but are capable of productive citizenship **now**. They can simultaneously utilize their talents and energy to contribute today and develop skills and attitudes that will foster a more committed and participatory citizenry tomorrow. Active citizenship is not a mere textbook abstraction, but it is a way of being, a practice, a commitment, even a habit, that can be, ought and must be entered into and made a part of one's life as early as possible."

This particular set of statements articulates several important assumptions that must be exposed:

(1) **Avoidance of Status:** The status of students, even if they are technically immigrants, does not matter, thus citizenship here is not defined as status in the service-learning field. The use of the term in this context, however, may be confusing to many children and adults, especially immigrants, who are clearly aware of citizenship as status;

(2) **Focus on Citizenship Behaviors:** Students can act as citizens even at their young age, presuming it is the behaviors of students that is what is desirable, not what they necessarily do as adults such as voting (and again, this assumption includes children who are non-citizens);

(3) **Unclear Expectations for Outcomes:** Students are expected to develop "skills and attitudes" through their service experiences that will foster future commitment and participation, but those skills and attitudes are presumed to be one type that is widely understood and agreed upon. As we have noted in an earlier section, however, the expected outcomes of service-learning and citizenship (as non-participant by choice, as a volunteer, or as an advocate organizing to protest laws) actually vary quite widely, so this is another assumption that must be explored;

(4) **Unclear Future Participation:** It appears to assumed that the service students perform today will have implications for a "more committed and participatory citizenry", but that future commitment and participation is not defined, nor is the pathway to that committed citizenry clear. As pointed out by Kahne and Westheimer (1996), service may be for charity or for change. So similar to the previous point regarding skills and attitudes, is future participation defined as voting? Is it volunteerism? Is it community organizing and advocacy? If these are all goals, then the service experiences are likely to be very different to reach each of those goals.

While more theory-building and evidence are needed to fully explore the relationship between service and citizenship, this section offers an example of how service-learning appeared to influence a subset of students' reasoning about service and citizenship. It is meant to be suggestive of the type of data that could be collected to better understand the contribution of service-learning to students' understanding of citizenship. Data is reported from two different service-learning classrooms whose teachers facilitated well-organized service-learning projects that were rather intensive in nature (every week, one class tutored younger students in reading, and the other class worked with violence prevention experts). The classrooms were selected because each service-learning teacher placed different emphases on the service-learning experiences, and so I hoped to explore if there were differences in students' conceptions of citizenship. Teacher Y in Service-learning Classroom #1 encouraged her students to feel a sense of efficacy in making a difference. Teacher Z in Service-learning Classroom #2 hoped that her students would become "change-agents" through their service-learning project.

Data from one of the comparison classrooms is also included to test the hypothesis that service-learning influences student development. Although these 13 students represent a small sample of the service-learning population in the study, the sample is representative as students were randomly selected to be interviewed.

Service-learning Classroom #1 (Civic Republican/Charity Conception of Citizenship)
Tutoring and Making a Difference, One Kid at a Time

All of the students in the first service-learning class selected tutoring as their service choice, which was essentially the same as the service-learning project in which they were engaged for the year. Their teacher had explained the need for service-learning as a way for individuals to make an impact, to make a difference. She had emphasized to her students how her students in the past were able to develop significant relationships with elementary aged students, and how much those relationships helped the younger students. The focus was essentially on building relationships and fostering a sense of individual efficacy. One student's reasoning reflected this focus:

"I guess it's better to reach out to one person a lot than to a lot of people and not really make a difference."

Students' reasoning about citizenship reflected a similar concern to help others, but the focus was not on organizing others, or questioning the need for their tutoring help, but emphasizing the need to help. Thus they were good "community members", but not critics or organizers for change. For example, one student explained:

"Being a good citizen is not about following laws or being a grown-up. Everybody could be a good citizen, showing respect to the elderly, showing respect to the community."

Similarly, another student suggested that to be a good citizen, "you're not just thinking about yourself, but also helping other people out."

<u>Service-learning Classroom #2 (Civic Republican/Social Change conception of citizenship)</u>
<u>Analyzing the roots of violence: The need for prevention and collective action</u>

Like the other service-learning classroom, three out of the five students in this class selected a project (a store's policy that was perceived to be discriminatory toward youth) that was similar to their service-learning project. Unlike the other teacher, however, Teacher Z emphasized reasoning and analysis of the influence of racism, sexism, and classism in American democracy. She encouraged questioning and critical thinking in her classroom, and encouraged her students to think about the interests of class members or others beyond themselves. Most of her students exhibited analysis skills when choosing their service project as exemplified by the reasoning by one of the students below:

> "Elderly, you want them to feel good. Kids, you want to help out kids too and you want to protect everybody in the community. Would take (project #5 – store discrimination project) out…because somebody's going to do it sooner or later. I'd rather think of the future. These people (elderly) don't have much time, and these people (kids), they're our future. So I guess I'd go with the future…the kids, teachers help them, but if you help them a lot more, then the future would be a lot stronger. Elderly, they'd probably rather have you help the kids."

The students in this classroom believed in the importance of helping communities and basing their decisions to help on analysis of what would address the greatest need. These students were future-oriented, and focused the interests of others. For example, one student called herself a "revolutionary" as a result of her involvement with service-learning in this class:

> (Good citizens are) the people who try to do something about what's wrong with this society. They're not just caring about themselves, they're thinking about the well-being of other people too. To me, a citizen, that means you're not only looking out for yourself, you're looking out for the well-being of everybody."

Another student clearly became an "organizer", mobilizing his peers to take action:

> "Being able to get your people organized and together is an important trait to changing anything you want to change."

The other three students, while not clearly leaders, emphasized that good citizenship meant helping the community.

It appeared that service-learning, when implemented as a significant focus for a class as "service-learning for social change", had an impact on students' ability to analyze issues and needs, on students' concerns for the interests of the larger community (beyond their own), and on their concern for the future of their country/community. This represented a more civic republican/social change view of citizenship that emphasized the responsibility of individuals to promote the welfare of the community, even if it means challenging the status quo.

<u>Comparison classroom: (Liberal/charity)</u>
<u>Do as you please</u>

The students in the comparison classroom exhibited a striking pattern of focusing on personal interests and experience, rather than an analysis of needs of the community, when choosing service projects. For example, students in the comparison classroom primarily decided on which service projects to do based on whether it would be "fun" or "boring", not whether their time would be spent in addressing the community's most pressing need. Three of the four students selected the tutoring project, two because they liked kids and one because he had help with reading when he was younger, and would want to do it to give back.

When it came to reasoning about citizenship, the two students who had extensive service involvement outside of class with church and JROTC selected Option #3. One student felt it was more inclusive of immigrants (he was the son of immigrants) and the other student who was involved with her church felt that "it was important to help". The other two students selected Option #1 (Voting and Law-Abiding) because:

1) It was important to vote: "people worked so that you can (vote) so you might as well take advantage of it"; and

2) It was important to follow rules: "If you don't break any laws, it'll be a better place.

It is interesting to note that, unlike half of the comparison students who believe good citizenship is about following rules, none of the service-learning students in this subset selected Option #1 for citizenship, suggesting that service-learning experiences offer conceptions of citizenship (as community member and change-agent) that are alternatives to "citizenship grades" that promote rule-abiding behavior.

In addition to the differences in choices, the level of students' reasoning in the comparison classroom was more limited than the students in the service-learning classrooms as they answered questions with one sentence rather than elaborating on their responses. For the most part, comparison students represented a liberal conception of citizenship that was driven by individual needs, choice, and interests for the most part. Even the students who chose Option 3 for the scenario picked it for reasons that 1) it allowed them to participate (includes youth) and 2) it was based on a personal interest in helping ("I like to help.")

<u>Classroom Practices</u>

In sum, the evidence in this small sample of three classrooms suggests that while students may come into school and service-learning experiences with previous attitudes about service and citizenship, it was clear that the teachers and the service-learning experiences influenced students' thinking. Based on classroom observations and interviews of teachers and students, at least two practices were represented in both classrooms and deserve further exploration:

1) Each service-learning teacher clearly articulated throughout the project why the service-learning project was important, although it should be noted that the rationales for each classroom were very different (personal power to make a difference, and mobilizing to reduce violence as a means of social change);

2) Teachers did not communicate their reasoning to students based on lectures, telling students what to think. Rather, they were focused on regular group discussions and questions from students in which the group responded (including teacher <u>and</u> students). In short, the teachers and students dialogued about their work, exchanging thoughts, questioning each other, and focusing on the larger goal of working for the benefit of others.

Based on these classrooms, it appeared that the way service-learning was framed for students influenced their conceptions of citizenship. But how does this take place?

While more ethnographic, qualitative studies would be needed to build theory, the following hypotheses are suggested to illuminate potential relationships between service and citizenship. The data collected in this study was rather broad and relatively shallow to build significant theories. As a result, the intent of this exercise is to reflect on the two service-learning classrooms described earlier, and to put these different "pathways" out for debate to clarify assumptions of what is expected of service-learning as it relates to citizenship development.

THEORY FOR CLASSROOM #1
(the "self-efficacy" approach that is focused on personal development)

- Youth get involved in service because they are told that they can "make a difference."
- Youth feel like their contributions are valued by the community, and that their voices are heard.
- Youth feel a sense of efficacy in having power to make valued contributions to the community.
- Through service, youth feel a sense of efficacy and may continue to serve in the future, seeing "citizenship" as doing something to help the larger community when they feel it's worthwhile and when they feel what they do will make a difference.
- This may or may not translate to other forms of political participation in which the rewards are not so immediate or apparent (such as voting). Thus citizenship is viewed, from the individual's perspective, as doing "what they can when they want to do it".

THEORY FOR CLASSROOM #2
(the "systems" approach that is focused on challenging the status quo)

- Youth get involved in service to address a perceived community need.
- Youth get exposed to an issue that they begin to care about.
- Youth question the need for service because it does not address the source of the problem.
- Youth realize that government, laws and policies are important ways to address needs.
- Youth learn about their rights and responsibilities within that governmental system to attempt change institutions and systems.
- Youth examine multiple ways to address needs, both short term (through service) and long-term through policy work and advocacy and voting for initiatives and persuading representatives.
- Through service, youth are thus both prepared and motivated to vote and to participate in direct service and self-government to improve institutions and systems.

SERVICE-LEARNING AS "SPACE"

This section of the report attempts to explain why there may be differences in students' reasoning within the same classes, within a specific type of service-learning projects, and across service-learning classrooms involved in various types of service-learning activities. Elaborating on the findings reported earlier about the active role of students and teachers in shaping service-learning practices and outcomes, I propose that service-learning should be viewed as creating "space" in classrooms to discuss important and contested issues such as service and/or citizenship, rather than a checklist of programmatic elements to be implemented. This conception of service-learning also helps to explain why there would be differences in students' attitudes about service and citizenship as this space is uniquely created in each classroom with students, teacher, and community actively engaging in dynamic and diverse service-learning practices.

1) Explaining within-classroom differences in student attitudes

Influence of students' backgrounds

Indications from student interviews, when queried about "where they learned" their views, many students cited their parents or other family influences to encourage them to help. Thus students, based on their life experiences that are affected by gender, ethnicity, religion, and class (among many others), come into service-learning experiences with particular attitudes about service and citizenship. The diversity of reasoning from the student interview scenarios illustrated this.

Other aspects of students' backgrounds may help to explain within class differences in student attitudes. While not within the scope of this paper, analysis of students' attitudes about service and conceptions of citizenship will be analyzed by student demographics such as age (to see if there are developmental aspects of thinking about service and citizenship), type of project (to see if some projects foster certain attitudes more than others), community setting (to see if where students live make them think differently), and gender and ethnicity (to see if there are differences in students' responses). Other research indicates that such variables may suggest differences (e.g. Conover and Searing, 2000), and further analyses of the interview data will be conducted to examine the influence of student demographics and community setting on attitudes about service and citizenship.

2) Explaining differences in students attitudes or reasoning within the same type of service-learning project

Influence of teachers' goals

One could argue that if students are involved in the same type of service-learning project (e.g. tutoring, or visits to the elderly, etc.), students' reasoning might be influenced to be more similar than different. However, data from teacher interviews and portfolios indicate that teachers play a significant role in shaping the goals, structures, and outcomes of service-learning projects, even if the projects look similar on the surface. In fact, it may be that while the service components may look very similar in appearance, teacher influences shape experiences that may lead to very different types of outcomes.

Recent large scale studies of service-learning have tended to focus on the components of the service-learning projects when examining outcomes of service-learning

(e.g. What is the duration of the service experience? Does the service include consistent reflection? Does the experience connect to the curriculum?) (Melchior et al, 1997; Weiler et.al., 1998). In this study, it appears that the details of **how** the projects are framed for students, and **what** is discussed and assessed varies widely, even as the service-learning projects (and its components) are very similar in appearance.

While service-learning projects on the surface may appear very similar, it became clear that teachers' intentions and learning goals for their students constitute another layer of complexity beneath the surface that created a diversity of experiences for students. Teachers articulated goals that vary widely, dimensions that relate to students' personal development (a more effective, confident person), social development (a better team member), career development (a better prepared and socially conscious worker), community development (a better community member), or political development (a more motivated voter or advocate). While these goals are not mutually exclusive, but they do indicate different emphases.

What makes this finding important is also recognizing that this diversity of goals and motivations are not always articulated well by teachers for themselves, for parents, and most importantly, for students. Based on the interviews and portfolios, there was a range of teachers who were able to articulate their motivations and goals for implementing service-learning: from having a weakly articulated rationale, to teachers who could explain it to us but were not clear in communicating to their students, to teachers who explained it to us and to their students, thus influencing students' thinking about the topics addressed.

For example, the following chart describes "Book Buddy" reading projects that appear very similar at first glance. They all include older students meeting with younger students to read to them at least once a week for an extended period of time (usually over the course of the school year). The projects all included integration with the students' curriculum, reflection, some student voice, and a culminating activity of a jointly written book based on the younger students' interests. But as the following table illustrates, the projects are very different in the content of the practices involved in each project. One would predict different outcomes as a result.

Table 6.   The Details of BOOK BUDDY READING

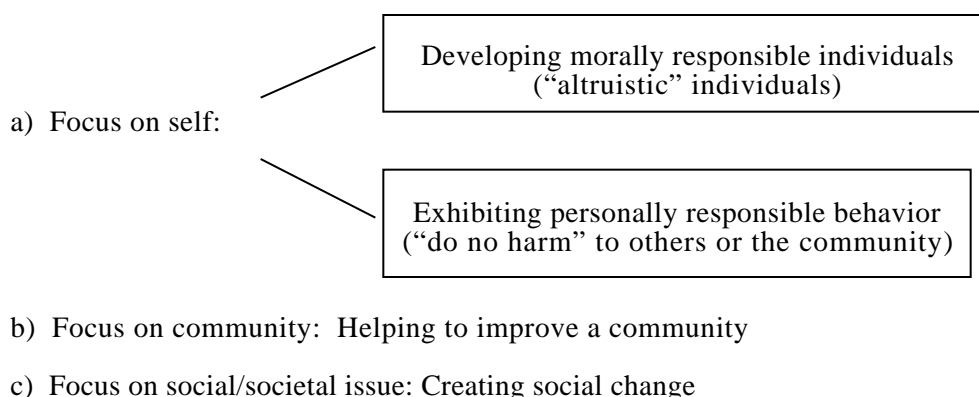| Project Dimensions	Teacher A	Teacher B	Teacher C
Primary Teacher Motivation and Learning Goals	**Personal development:** learning to help others (e.g. one person can make a difference)	**Social issue:** learning about illiteracy and its effects;	**Academic development:** reading fluency and reading comprehension
Secondary Goal	Understand the importance of literacy in cultures	Motivate students to read and teach others to read	Build a community of learners
Who are the students?	Underachieving suburban ninth grade students	Seventh graders in an urban setting	Third graders in an urban setting
What is said to students	This is a way for you to make a difference (and fulfill the community service requirement).	Being a book buddy is one way to address the problem that affects many people. This is why school is important.	Learning how to read is very important, and so is being a teacher.
Preparation	Training of three students by reading resource teachers who in turn communicated the information to their class Class orientation by receiving teacher and reading specialist	Talked about and defined active citizenship with her students, and about why literacy is important (why one needs it)	Month-long unit on the mechanics of teaching students how to read (how to hold a book, introduce a book, ask questions, how to select an appropriate book). Students practice with each other before doing it with the little buddies
Reflection Questions	How did it go today with your buddy? What do you need help with?	Students read "Nightjohn", and reflected in essays: Why was learning how to read important to Nightjohn? How was he an active citizen? How have I been an active citizen?	What did you notice your buddy could read or could do? What do they still need to work on to be a better reader? How have you seen your buddy improve?
Evaluation/ Assessments	Final essay: How did you feel about helping your buddy learn how to read? How did this experience affect your understanding of literacy and democracy?	Test for facts about illiteracy	District writing assessment
Collaborative partnering	Team planning between the participating teachers to problem-solve how the buddy pairs were getting along	Logistical planning with partnering teachers at the local elementary school	Team planning: partner teacher helps teach mini-lessons (e.g. how to teach vocabulary) –midway through project
Process for adjustment	Focused on continuous monitoring of interpersonal relationships in the pairings by both Teacher A and the teacher of the "little ones"	Focused on helping students make the connection between their experience as a book buddy and the idea of being an active citizen	Focused on what the students needed to know to teach their buddy how to read

In short, it is not enough to know surface level details of what service projects students implemented, or what the (teacher-reported) connection was to the curriculum. In addition, the finer texture of teacher motivations for using service-learning must also be known, as well as the language used in presenting the project and reiterating the goals throughout through project, but especially in the reflection prompts offered to students. It is these finer details that appear to radically shape service-learning experiences for students.

It's Not Just Academic: A Diversity of Civic Outcomes

When examining service-learning as a strategy for citizenship education, what makes this diversity of teacher motivations and goals for service-learning even more complicated is the diversity of outcomes that relate to the civic dimension of student outcomes. That is, according to teachers, "civic outcomes" may mean very different things.

For example, based on interviews and surveys, teachers had a variety of civic outcomes they hoped their students would develop (see Figure 7 below). Some teachers expected that their students would become more caring and altruistic individuals while other teachers wanted their students to exhibit personal restraint and responsibility to monitor their own behaviors and not to inflict harm on others. Other teachers hoped that their students would become more committed and engaged community members. Still others hoped that their students would become "change-agents" by critiquing the status quo and taking collective and individual actions to create a more just world. Again, these goals were not mutually exclusive, but they did indicate different emphases. While they are all relevant to students' conceptions of citizenship, it was also not clear that teachers involved in service-learning were making those connections to citizenship explicitly.

Figure 7. Different dimensions of "civic outcomes" that are relevant for citizenship

a) Focus on self:

> Developing morally responsible individuals
> ("altruistic" individuals)

> Exhibiting personally responsible behavior
> ("do no harm" to others or the community)

b) Focus on community: Helping to improve a community

c) Focus on social/societal issue: Creating social change

As illustrated by the two classrooms described earlier, it became clear that when implemented under certain conditions, different conceptions of citizenship emerged from the different goals that teachers expressed, so the role of teachers was critical to understand student attitudes and outcomes.

3) How to explain differences across classrooms?

Diversity of service-learning practices

While acknowledging that teacher goals for similar service-learning projects may vary, it is also important to note that across service-learning projects, there is a tremendous diversity of practices of service-learning. This section describes ways to consider the

diversity of practices, and reaffirms an alternative way of viewing service-learning not as a set of components or practices, but as "space" that is created in classrooms, schools, and communities to bring into the tradition curriculum. The contents of this space includes teachers' and administrators' concerns about the personal, social and moral development students that are only sporadically addressed in schools where the greatest focus appears to be on the academic development of students.

Defining Service-learning

Before exploring the details of the practice of service-learning, it is worth mentioning that service-learning as a concept has been difficult to define. As indicated by one set of researchers,

> "What is school-based service-learning? There is little consensus. For some, it is a reform initiative aimed at making schools more responsive and relevant to young people. For others, service-learning is an instructional strategy, a means for improving the academic achievement, citizenship, and community membership of young people. For others, it is a program that integrates meaningful work in the community with rigorous coursework and structured reflection. For still others, it is all of the above."
> (Zeldin and Tarlow, 1997, p. 173)

This difficulty in defining what service-learning is has implications for the practice of service-learning: it would appear that there is be a great variety in the practices of service-learning projects, making it difficult to make the case that service-learning is a consistent intervention or program.

Even when one decides if service-learning is a program structure or philosophy, the actual service projects that students perform vary widely. As Scheckley and Keeton (1997) acknowledge, "(s)ervice-learning occurs in many forms and in many settings" (p. 32). In describing the variety of types of service-learning that occur, they acknowledge that "all these and many similar types of projects are termed 'service-learning.' As it has been used, the term 'service-learning' can be loosely defined as an educational activity, program, or curriculum that seeks to promote students' learning through experiences associated with volunteerism or community service (32). This diversity of service-learning practices is also illustrated in the variety of "standards of quality" or practices that exist for service-learning programs (Naughton 2000). Of the eight sets of standards of service-learning that she reviewed, only three elements were in common (e.g. specified learning goals, reflection, and community need).

Based on our observations, teacher interviews and portfolios as well as service-learning literature, the following tables illustrate the ways in which service-learning projects can vary from one another. It is important to note that while the characteristics of service-learning projects are categorized into <u>Project Logistics</u>, <u>Community Context</u>, <u>Teacher Roles</u> and <u>Student Influences</u>, there are interrelationships among these categories. For example, teachers play a significant decision making role in many cases that determine the logistics of the project as well as the relationship between the classroom and the defined community. This way of categorizing characteristics is not meant to be an exhaustive list, but illustrative of the tremendous diversity of service-learning practices.

Table 8a.   Variables in the Practices of Service-learning: Logistics of the project

Logistics of the project	
Variable	**Characteristics that Vary**
Mandated or voluntary	Requirement by class, grade, school, district
Degree of student choice	Selection of need, of project, of task, of assignment to be completed
Location of the service	In the classroom, on the school campus, in a community-based agency
Individual student tasks	Organizer, group leader, group follower, spokesperson, observer
Length of the service project	Length of time between the perceived start and end of the service-learning project (e.g. one day, one week, one semester, up to one year)
Frequency of service opportunities	Every day, once a week, once a month, once a year
Intensity of service exposure	Length of time engaged in each opportunity for service (30 minutes to several hours)
Proportion of time spent on preparation, service and reflection	Majority of time spent on preparation, direct service, or reflection after the project.
Level of Interaction with those directly affected by the service	Environmental (no human contact with others) to direct service provision to specific individual or group
Expectation of the impact of service	Short-term immediate benefits (e.g. neighborhood cleanup) versus longer-term, less visible benefits (e.g, violence prevention)
Level of integration with the Specific Curriculum	From implicit relationship to the curriculum (no connection explained to students) to very explicit relationships drawn to specified learning goals
Determination of need	Teacher as decision-maker, or students involved (to varying degrees) in determining the need to be addressed
Frequency with which connections between service and learning goals are made for students (e.g. frequency of "reflection"-type activities)	At the beginning of the project? Repeated throughout? At the end?
Reflection opportunities provided	Writing (individual journals, formal papers), discussion (in pairs, in groups, as a class)

Table 8b. Variables in Local Community Context

Local Community Context	
Variable	**Characteristics that Vary**
Way that "community" is defined	Personal relationships, classroom, school, neighborhood, surrounding the school, city, state, region, nation, world
Role of the "community" in designing, implementing, and evaluating the service provided	Community representatives present to classes about the issues, help teachers develop curriculum and training for students, receive student volunteers, etc.
Types of needs in community	Human needs, environmental, public safety
Communities' perceptions of youth	Positive, negative, indifferent

Table 8c. Variables in Teachers' Role and Influence

Teachers' Role and Influence	
Variable	**Characteristics that Vary**
Level of Choice by teacher to implement service-learning	Range from purely voluntary to school/district mandates (may influence their attitudes toward implementing service-learning)
Background of teachers	Previous service experiences, potentially the demographics of the teachers (gender, race, class)
Philosophy of education	Schools as means of teaching content or personal skills to negotiate life after school; value of applied learning versus simply knowing
Personality of teacher	Affects relationships with students (more or less confidence in youth) and level of engagement with students (more or less authoritarian)
Role of the teacher	Facilitative/part of the same process or decision-maker not engaged in the same process
Learning goals of the service-learning project	Range from academic, personal, social, civic, moral, and vocational
Way service is framed for students	Differences in reasoning for the need to do service (to be an altruistic person, to be a responsible community member, to change things to make conditions better for all)

Table 8d. Variables in Students' Influence

Students' Influence	
Variable	**Characteristics that Vary**
Students' level of choice in doing service-learning	Range from purely voluntary to school/district mandates (may positively or negatively influence their attitudes toward doing service-learning)
Background and demographics of students	Influence of factors that cannot be changed (e.g. gender, community setting, age, ethnicity/race)
Students' reasoning and attitudes about service	Previous experiences with service, parental and peer encouragement or discouragement
Role of students in selecting, designing, implementing the project	Range from entirely teacher-planned to significant student involvement in planning and implementation

It becomes clear that the individuals involved (including students, teachers, and community members) and the context in which service-learning takes place matter. This context shapes the programmatic goals and outcomes of service-learning. Rather than a "program" with a set of activities, service-learning is a space that is provided for students and teachers to engage in issues, activities, and discussion that are important to one group, or the other, or both.

Service-learning as space

Much service-learning literature appears to describe service-learning as a set of components to be implemented in a checklist fashion that appear to be independent of context (including who the teachers and students are and the community in which they reside). In fact, rather than focusing on a list of components to be implemented, it may make more sense to view service-learning projects as creating "space" in classrooms and schools for students and teachers to bring in issues and topics not normally taught through the typical curriculum. Often, these are issues that teachers felt were important to be addressed when considering the needs of their students and the state of their local communities.

This way of thinking of service-learning does not mean that there is nothing consistent across service-learning experiences. Rather, there are nuances that may explain differences in student outcomes and that make measuring any single outcome very challenging because the content of that space (or reasons why teachers want to use service-learning) varies. What is consistent are certain practices that make experiences explicitly service-learning, including such "standards of quality" as service for a community, intentional learning goals, and consistent opportunities for reflection. But there is also recognition that every service-learning experience is uniquely constructed by the students, teachers, and communities in order to make meaning for all of the groups involved.

For example, teachers at various grade levels wanted their students to learn about their local communities and to feel connected to their local community, which are not typical components of the social studies curriculum. Other teachers wanted to increase students' sense of self-efficacy and sense of empowerment to change their lives and their environments, which is not a typical role for schools that probably spend more time trying to control the behaviors of children rather than empower them. Other teachers used service-learning as a means of helping students critique the social systems in which they live: racism, sexism, classism which fulfills the role of schools in promoting social progress but challenges the thought of schools as means for social reproduction. Still other teachers use service-learning because it allows them to talk about moral issues, of what is right and wrong rather than allowing relativism to reign in public schools.

Essentially, service-learning provides the space and opportunity for students and teachers to engage in work and development that is more personal and civic in nature than what is typically supported in school. It is an interesting comment on the fact that schools provide such limited opportunities to address these issues that teachers and administrators feel are important to include in students' education. Jeannie Oakes and her colleagues (2000) reported similar resistance in schools and school reforms in their study: "at every turn, educators seeking to blend moral and civic change with high achievement encounter obstacles in the form of deeply lodged ideological preferences for schooling that favors private interests, competition, and individual gain" (Oakes et. al. 2000, 68).

As indicated by the interviews, surveys, and observations in this study, the goals, project structures, and outcomes that result vary greatly, which is positive because it means

that service-learning can be implemented in just about every classroom in the country, given the interest and will of the teachers. It is challenging, however, to expect a single standard civic outcome of service-learning because it means that service-learning can be implemented in just about every classroom in the country, given the interest and will of the teachers. In short, the flexibility of service-learning to adapt to any classroom is both the boon and the bane of service-learning, especially for policy makers and evaluators.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The following summary of findings outline the main points that are hoped to be taken from this report:

1) *If citizenship development is an explicit goal of service-learning, then policy makers, teachers, and service-learning advocates must recognize that different conceptions of citizenship exist in both theory and practice.*

If "citizenship" is a desired outcome of service-learning experiences, there are multiple conceptions of citizenship in theory and practice that should be acknowledged, clarified, and debated among students and teachers. This is important because students and teachers come into service-learning experiences with a diversity of experiences and opinions about citizenship that should be negotiated, affirmed, and/or challenged.

2) *Students offered many reasons to serve, indicating that they bring attitudes and take lessons from service-learning experiences that may vary widely.*

Students described very different attitudes and opinions about service, which reflected personal interests, sense of personal efficacy, concern for efficacy of the project, and/or analysis of community needs. However, participation in service-learning appeared to shape students' attitudes about service, as comparison students were more likely to select projects based on personal interests or sense of efficacy, while service-learning students were more likely to be community-oriented and concerned about meeting the greatest needs in the community. Ultimately, this diversity of attitudes suggests the importance of offering opportunities to discuss why service is necessary so that students recognize their own beliefs and have the opportunity to challenge or affirm them as they learn about other meanings of service.

3) *Learning about citizenship is a very complex process that requires opportunities to engage in dialogue about the many dimensions of citizenship.*

- **Many teachers miss (or exclude) the opportunity to discuss "citizenship" as part of service-learning.** Despite the rhetoric that promotes service-learning as teaching about citizenship, most of the teachers involved in service-learning did not use the language of "citizenship". Since teachers did not explicitly connect the students' service experiences to the concept of citizenship, students were left to create those connections (or have outside interviewers make them), if at all.

- **Service-learning promotes active citizenship.** The promise of service-learning is that even in the absence of "citizenship" language, when asked to make a choice, many (though not all) students involved in service-learning chose a civic republican conception of citizenship where "a good citizen is anyone (even a young person) who tries to make the school or neighborhood better" because of an interest in helping others and in including anyone who wanted to help (regardless of political status). While half of the comparison students also selected this option, the other half defined "good citizenship" as following rules and laws (citizenship as rule-abiding), suggesting that service-learning experiences promoted a pro-social, active conception of citizenship.

- **Service-learning does not automatically foster interest in voting.** While service-learning experiences promote the importance of helping others, they do not

automatically foster the desire to participate in systems of democratic self-governance, such as voting or participating in politics. For the most part, even students who were heavily involved in service-learning did not connect voting to their conceptions of "good citizenship". This propensity to volunteer but not vote as acts of citizenship should be further examined in light of assumptions that youth involvement with service-learning will inevitably lead to greater voting rates as adults.

4) *When implemented consistently and intensively, classroom practices can significantly support student learning through service that relates to their understanding of citizenship.*

Based on a review of student interviews in a few sample classrooms, service-learning appeared to shape students' attitudes about service and citizenship, not through lecture or indoctrination, but through reasoning and analysis through dialogue, even when citizenship was not explicitly stated as an outcome of service-learning. Conditions that supported clear relationships between service and citizenship included clear rationales for why the service was important to do, consistent opportunities for reflection that allowed students to negotiate the attitudes that they bring into the classrooms, and regular opportunities for teachers and students to engage in dialogue.

5) *The greatest contribution of service-learning in fostering citizenship development may be the opportunity or "space" to discuss issues and topics that students and teachers consider as important or contested, such as service and citizenship.*

To help explain the diversity of attitudes that students' have about service and citizenship, several dimensions of the learning environment were examined, including student background demographics and teacher goals that may lead to a diversity of service-learning practices. For example, the motivations and goals held by teachers varied, significantly shaping the learning experiences and outcomes for students. As a result of the influential roles that students and teachers have in creating service-learning experiences, rather than thinking of service-learning as a list of certain elements or components to be implemented, it appeared that service-learning created "space" in classrooms that allowed teachers and students to address personal and community issues that concerned them, and that were not typically taught in school.

While this report has explored many assumptions of service-learning as citizenship education, one assumption is clear: "Democracy has to be born anew every generation and education is its midwife" (Dewey, 1933). The following recommendations are offered to raise the awareness of policymakers, teachers, students and service-learning advocates to view service-learning as a means of teaching "citizenship" in public schools. The recommendations are divided into two groups: the first for program coordinators and policymakers because the issues are similar, and the second for researchers and evaluators who are interested in assessing service-learning and citizenship.

Implications for Programs and Policy

• Use the language of "citizenship".

If service-learning is meant through careful consideration to be a strategy for citizenship education, then students and teachers need to engage the concept and term directly. Avoiding the term, "citizen", because of its connotations will not necessarily lead teachers and students to reconsider, challenge, or embrace alternative conceptions of

citizenship. It also allows the term to languish in ambiguity. Instead, teachers and students should recognize that citizenship carries different meanings and connotations for different people. As a result, teachers should acknowledge the various connotations of the term and discuss it with students to understand their conceptions that they bring into the classroom. They can then be clear in the language of what it means to be a "good citizen" in that particular project or classroom.

• **Redefine "Student Voice".**

The inclusion of "student voice" has typically focused on including students' interests in the selection, development, and implementation of service projects (which may not be reasonable given the age of students or the timeline in which the service projects take place). Based on the student interview data, it may be more helpful to redefine "student voice" as directly including students' past experiences and prior attitudes about service and citizenship in their current service-learning projects. This is not to be done at the beginning of the project, or briefly in passing. The voices of students should be consistently engaged in dialogue and discussion, to reason with them, not simply tell them, how and why service to the community is important as community members and as "citizens". Essentially, service-learning projects should include regular opportunities for students to dialogue and to challenge their previous notions, and to reflect on how their current involvement in service-learning affects those ideas. Only then will "meaningful learning", or learning that has meaning, take place and be carried beyond the walls of the classroom into adulthood.

This notion of "student voice" as bringing past experiences and attitudes to bear on current service-learning opportunities raises issues for policies that mandate "service-learning" experiences for students. Stand-alone requirements that are not connected to classwork or regular opportunities to reflect may have unexpected and potentially negative impacts on students that should be carefully examined. It is important to note that while students in classroom and curriculum-based projects were also technically "required" to do service as part of their class, the context of the classwork and regular class discussions appeared to defuse potential student resentment of service-learning as a "requirement".

• **Connect service experiences with larger systems of change, including voting.**

Given students' inability or lack of awareness to connect their service experiences with concerns about voting, service-learning advocates should encourage teachers to connect their service projects to larger systems of change, including voting in elections. As illustrated by teachers in this study, an emphasis on reasoning and analysis of "why" certain inequities exist and attention paid to institutions and systems appeared to foster students' ability to analyze and to connect their service work to larger systems of policy. If the connection between service and voting is desired, this will push service-learning to go beyond service for charity to help individuals, to service for change to help the larger community and society.

• **Focus on analysis, not "advocacy", to engage students.**

Laws that restrict "advocacy" in public schools exist for good reason: to prevent simple "indoctrination" of students. However, these laws also appear to have a chilling effect on discussions of changing policies through avenues such as voting or organizing. Teachers may feel discouraged to connect service projects with larger concerns about governmental responses to needs (to be prodded by voting). In effect, teachers appear to be "de-politicizing" the service projects in order to fit the norms at school to avoid conflict and to comply with laws that restrict "advocacy".

As illustrated by one of the service-learning projects in this study, however, one service-learning teacher was able to convey the importance of social change, not by simple lectures to her students, but by emphasizing analysis of community needs (e.g. violence). Together, students and teacher explored the many ways, individually and collectively, that exist to address the problem of violence (including individual decisions about personal behaviors to mobilization of larger groups to promote changes in institutions and societal attitudes).

• **Help teachers make project goals clear, and structure activities accordingly.**

Continued professional development and coaching for teachers to plan and implement service-learning should be provided to improve the quality of the experience for students and teachers. The process of clarifying goals and structuring appropriate connections to the curriculum through reflection activities and assessment is needed because as discussed in this report, there are different types of civic responsibility and citizenship (focus on individual, focus on collective, focus on charity, focus on social change, and the many hybrids among them). It is important for teachers to identify their goals, and then structure experiences to reflect those goals: For example, teachers should be encouraged to carefully thinking about the type of reflection questions that are asked of students. Ask questions consistently that address the learning goals, the subject matter, the emotional responses of the students, and evaluation to improve the experiences. Regular opportunities for reflection with a mixture of questions also offer opportunities for consistent messages or expectations.

• **Consider service-learning not as a set of practices, but as "space" that is uniquely created in every classroom.**

Rather than focusing on a list of components to be implemented, view service-learning projects as creating "space" in classrooms and schools for students and teachers to bring in issues and topics not normally taught through the traditional academic curriculum. Often, these are issues that teachers felt were important to be addressed when considering the needs of their students and the state of their local communities.

• **Acknowledge the critical role of teachers in implementing meaningful service-learning experiences for students.**

Policymakers who view service-learning as an exciting means to foster certain student outcomes (such as citizenship) need to be aware of the important role that teachers play in shaping the classroom practices, service experiences, and thus outcomes for students. Service-learning is not like other instructional strategies because of its complexity in goals and implementation, and because of the commitment needed by teachers to implement it well. As a result, time and energy must be spent to ensure that teachers own the process and tapping their motivations for doing service-learning appears to be important to the success of the experiences for students and teachers. First, ask for volunteers among teachers in schools who may be interested in implementing service-learning in their classes. Ask a department or grade level team to take on the requirement and plan how it would take place. Encourage as much ownership as possible by teachers by asking them to identify aspects of service-learning that connect with their teaching responsibilities (whether it is academic, civic, social, technical, or personal).

Implications for Evaluation and Research

• **More research about the practice of service-learning is needed because local context drives local practice.**

If service-learning is more accurately described as "space" that is constructed and influenced by students, teachers, and communities, then there is tremendous complexity in evaluating and researching service-learning. Research is encouraged to focus evaluation on the different types of goals that policymakers hope for, and to examine the conditions that teachers structure in their classrooms. Given the diversity of service-learning goals, it would be important for programs to be evaluated for what they are attempting to do. Accept this diversity of goals, and the fact that while teachers may attempt to reach all of these outcomes, they are probably emphasizing one dimension (such as academic, social, personal, civic, or vocational) more than others. As a result, evaluations should help programs to clarify their goals, and develop appropriate measures (both qualitative and quantitative) to assess those goals because this study has shown that a single measure may not be most appropriate means of capturing outcomes.

• **Recent efforts to build theories should continue and be expanded.**

Research on the conditions and practices of service-learning would especially be helpful in developing theories about how and why service-learning "works". At this point, much of the research has focused on certain variables (e.g. duration, intensity, reflection opportunities, etc.) without clear theories for moral, social, civic, or academic development. This atheoretical basis for many service-learning studies limits our understanding of what works and why, and should be addressed with greater focus on theory-building. Recent efforts to build theories (e.g. Learning in Deed, 2000) should incorporate a more complex view of what students and teachers bring to the service-learning experiences. They are neither "blank slates" nor "technicians" merely implementing a static set of service-learning practices.

In addition, theories should incorporate a developmental approach to study the effects of these programs over time and over a range of student ages and levels of development. It may be that some practices and programs are more effective for students at certain developmental levels than others.

• **Acknowledge the methodological challenges and limits for research in service-learning.**

Methodological challenges for research on experiential educational strategies such as service-learning continue for many reasons (Giles, Porter Honnet and Migliore, 1991; Gray, 1996). For example, as demonstrated by the following review of the literature, there are multiple and conflicting goals of such programs that may lead to changes that may occur for some students, but not for others. Transformative changes may not be best captured by quantitative instruments. Variables are difficult to identify and define, comparison groups are not easily available, random assignment is usually difficult therefore determining causality is tricky, and there are few standardized instruments that measure the desired effects.

Both qualitative and quantitative measures offer advantages and disadvantages that should be considered, but a cautionary note must be expressed about the incessant desire to quantify outcomes. Even with more sophisticated statistical tools such as Hierarchical

Linear Modeling, a standardized instrument is only as helpful as how valid and reliable it is in measuring a particular dimension. As observed in this study, teachers have many dimensions of student development that they hope to accomplish through service-learning. So one option is to study groups of programs and teachers who have similar goals to explore potential outcomes, rather than casting the net broadly to include all service-learning activities.

- **Explore the impact of mandates on teachers and on student outcomes.**

As increasing numbers of schools and districts implement community service and service-learning experiences for students, evaluation and research should pay particular attention to the distinction between voluntary and required service on intended student outcomes. For example, student motivation and level of engagement may be different, teacher motivation and commitment to quality may be different, and the effects of these differences may affect student outcomes.

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